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CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

Page

History of the Military Epoch 1

CHAPTER II

Manners and Customs of the Military Epoch 39

CHAPTER III

Manners and Customs of the Military Epoch (*Continued*) 91

CHAPTER IV

Weapons and Operations of War during the Military Epoch 128

CHAPTER V

Bushi-dō or the Way of the Warrior . . . 173

CHAPTER VI

Refinements and Pastimes of the Military Epoch 229

Appendix 279

ILLUSTRATIONS

Page

A Corner of a Japanese Tea-House . . . . . *Frontispiece*

Palanquins and Carriage . . . Sleeping Place in an Aristocrat's Mansion 16

Costumes and Head-dress of the Heian Epoch 32

Tokugawa Iyeyasu 48

Japanese Weapons of War; Sixteenth Century . . . 64

Samurai of Kamakura Period 80

Nagoya Castle 96

Mortuary Bronze Lanterns in the Temple Enclosure at Shiba Park, Tōkyō 112

Weapons of War; Twelfth Century 128

Playing Blindman's Buff in a Side Street Leading to the Moat in Tōkyō 144

Temple Bell at Kawasaki 160

The Graves of the "Forty-seven Rōnin" 176

Samurai in Armour 192

Examples of Japanese Flower Arrangements 208

Examples of Japanese Flower Arrangements 224

House for the Tea Ceremony in the Mito Park, Tōkyō 256

JAPAN

ITS HISTORY ARTS AND LITERATURE

Chapter I

HISTORY OF THE MILITARY EPOCH

HAD the conditions existing in the Heian epoch prevailed throughout the whole country, Japan would doubtless have paid the penalty never escaped by a demoralised nation. But in proportion as the Court, the principal officials, and the noblemen in the capital, abandoned themselves to pleasure and neglected the functions of government, the provincial families acquired strength. The members of these families differed essentially from the aristocrats of Kyōtō. They had no sympathy with the enervating luxury of city life, and if they chanced to visit the capital, they could not fail to detect the effeminacy and incompetence of the Court nobles. These latter, on the other hand, sought to win the friendship of the rustic captains in order to gain their protection against the priests, who defied the author-

ity of the central government; against the autochthons, whom the provincial soldiers had been specially organised in the eighth century to resist, and against insurrections which occasionally occurred among sections of the military men themselves. The nation was, in effect, divided into three factions, — the Court nobles (*Kuge*), the military families (*Buke*), and the priests.

The military men had at the outset no literary attainments: they knew nothing about the Chinese classics or the art of turning a couplet. Arms and armour were their sole study, and the only law they acknowledged was that of might. The central government, altogether powerless to control them, found itself steadily weakened not only by their frank indifference to its mandates, but also by the shrinkage of revenue that gradually took place as the estates of the local captains ceased to pay taxes to Kyōtō. Had the Fujiwara family continued to produce men of genius and ambition, the capital would probably have struggled desperately against the growth of provincial autonomy. But the Fujiwara had fallen victims to their own greatness. By rendering their tenure of power independent of all qualifications to exercise it, they had ultimately ceased to possess any qualification whatever. The close of the Heian epoch found them as incapable of defending their usurped privileges as had been the patriarchal families upon whose ruins they origi-

nally climbed to supremacy. And, just as the decadence of the patriarchal families and the usurpation of the Fujiwara were divided by a temporary restoration of authority to the Throne, so the decadence of the Fujiwara and the usurpation of the military clans were separated by a similar rehabilitation of imperialism.

Shirakawa (1073–1086) was the sovereign who took advantage of the Fujiwara's weakness to resume the administration of State affairs.

Yet Shirakawa himself inaugurated a new form of the very abuse he had abolished: he instituted a system of *camera* Emperors. Though he actually occupied the Throne for fourteen years only, he ruled the Empire forty-three years after his abdication, under the title of *Hōwō* (pontiff). In short, though great enough to conceive and consummate the kingly project of recovering the reality of imperial power from the Fujiwara nobles who had usurped it, he afterwards, by reducing the nominal sovereign to the status of a mere puppet *vis-à-vis*, the retired monarch deliberately placed himself in the position that the Fujiwara had occupied *vis-à-vis* the Throne. Neither could he escape the taint of his time, for though undoubtedly a man of high ability and forceful character, he was neither economical nor upright. He built several magnificent palaces standing in spacious and beautiful parks; he devised new and costly kinds of entertainment; he lavished vast sums on the construction of Bud-

dhist temples and the celebration of grand religious services, and he made a parade of his belief in Buddhism by forbidding the slaughter of birds, beasts, fish or insects in any part of the Empire, and never allowing either fish or flesh to be served at the Palace feasts. Yet he did not hesitate to sell official posts, thus deliberately perpetuating what he knew to be one of the worst evils of the era, hereditary office-holding. So far was this abuse carried that the post of provincial governor became hereditary in thirty cases during Shirakawa's tenure of power ; three or four persons sometimes held the same office simultaneously by purchase, and in one instance a boy of ten was governor of a province. Such incidents were not calculated to consolidate the power of the Throne, and the imperial authority was still further discredited by the spectacle of a sovereign nominally ruling but in reality ruled by an ex-Emperor, who, while professing to have abandoned the world and devoted himself to a life of religion, had a duly organised Court with ministers and an independent military force of his own, and issued edicts above the head of the reigning Emperor. Shirakawa and his immediate successors who followed this system of dual imperialism, if for a moment they enjoyed the sweets of administrative authority, must be said to have invited the vicissitudes that afterwards befell the Throne. In truth, to whatever trait of national character the fact may be ascribable,

history seems to show that unlimited monarchy is an impossible polity in Japan.

By the beginning of the twelfth century, the military power, as distinguished from that of the Court and the priests, had fallen, in tolerably equal proportions, into the hands of two families, the Taira and the Minamoto.[1] Both were descended from Emperors, and both were divided into a number of clans established in different parts of the Empire. The Taira had their headquarters in Kyōtō, and their clans were paramount in the provinces near the capital. The Minamoto's sphere of influence was in the north and east. It was inevitable that these two should come into collision. The events that immediately preluded the shock may be briefly dismissed by saying that they sprang out of a dispute about the succession to the Throne. The Taira triumphed, and their leader, Kiyōmori, became the autocrat of the hour.

Kiyōmori was a man of splendid courage and audacity, but originality and political insight were not among his gifts. Nothing shrewder suggested itself to him than to follow the example of the Fujiwara by placing minors upon the Throne. He caused one Emperor to retire at the age of five, and he put the sceptre into the hands of another at the age of eight. He filled all the high offices with his own people; made himself Prime Minister; his eldest son, Minister

[1] See Appendix, Note 1.

of the Interior, and his second son, Junior Minister of State. He organised a band of three hundred lads who went about the city in disguise to report any one that spoke ill of the Taira, and the results of such reports were so terrible that people learned to say "not to be a Taira is to be reckoned a beast." He brought his mailed hand down with relentless force on the Buddhist priests when they took up arms against the Taira at the instigation of an ex-Emperor, and he did not hesitate to seize the person of the ex-Emperor himself and place him in confinement. He showed equally scant consideration for the Fujiwara nobles, whom the prestige of long association with the Throne had rendered sacred in the eyes of the nation: some he deprived of their posts; others of their lands, and others he put to death. He set the torch to temples and levied taxes on the estates of *Shintō* shrines. Nothing deterred him; nothing was suffered to thwart his plans, and the Taira chiefs in the provinces followed his arbitrary example.

Such a government was not likely to last long. Twenty-two years measured its life. Then the Minamoto rose in arms and triumphed completely under the leadership of Yoritomo, who had fought as a boy of thirteen in the battle that established the supremacy of his father's foes, the Taira. The fall of the latter happened in the last quarter of the twelfth century. It is remarkable as the complete establishment of military feudalism in Japan.

That the administrative power should be wrested from the Throne, was nothing strange, being in truth a normal incident of Japanese politics. But hitherto the administrators had officiated in the shadow of the Throne. It is true that Kiyōmori, the Taira chief, established his head-quarters at the modern Hyōgo, and thus, in a measure, removed the seat of authority from Kyōtō. He did not attempt, however, to organise any new system, being content to fill the old offices with members of his own family. Yoritomo, on the contrary, inaugurated an entire change of polity. He established a military government at Kamakura, hundreds of miles distant from Kyōtō, and there exercised the administrative functions, leaving to the Imperial Court nothing except the power of investing officials and conducting ceremonials.

Yoritomo is the most remarkable figure during the first eighteen centuries of Japanese history. Profound craft and singular luminosity of political judgment were the prominent features of his character. A cold, calculating man, ready to sacrifice everything to ambition, he shocks at one time by inhumanity, and dazzles at another by unerring interpretations of the object lessons of history. Detecting clearly the errors that his predecessors had committed, he spared no pains to conciliate the Buddhist priests; won the nobility by restoring to them their offices and estates, and propitiated the Court by leaving its organisa-

tion undisturbed and making all high officials its nominal appointees. After he had crushed his rivals, the Taira, he found in the provinces civil governors (*Kokushi*), who were practically irresponsible autocrats. He found also nobles who held hereditary possession of wide estates and had full power over the persons and properties of their tenants as well as over the minor land-holders in their district. To administer the country's affairs in fact as well as in name, these governors and manorial nobles must be removed. He therefore petitioned the Court, and obtained permission to appoint in each province a Constable (*Shugo*), or military governor, and a chief of lands (*Jito*), both responsible for preserving order and collecting and transmitting the taxes. These officials were all appointed from Kamakura, which thus became the real centre of administrative power. For himself, Yoritomo obtained the title of Lord High Constable (*Sō-tsui-hōshi*), which was afterwards supplemented by that of *Tai-i-Shōgun* (barbarian-subduing generalissimo). He was not a great general. In military ability he could not compare with either his brother, the brilliant and ill-fated Yoshitsune, or his cousin, the "morning-sun" captain Yoshinaka. Moreover, if his legislative and political talents command profound admiration, it is impossible to be certain how much of the credit belongs to him, how much to his able adviser, Oye-no-Hiromoto, who is said to have suggested all the reforms and drafted

all the laws that emanated from the Kamakura government. Not the least astute of Oye's perceptions was that the supreme power could not long be held by a family residing in Kyōtō; first, because the Imperial city lay far from the military centres whence help could be obtained in time of need; secondly, because the Court nobles assembled there could not be ignored without provoking hostile intrigues, or recognised without incurring heavy expenditure; and thirdly, because the atmosphere of the capital was fatal to military robustness. It was for these reasons that Kamakura became the metropolis of military feudalism. There Yoritomo had, in effect, his Minister of the Right and his Minister of the Left, his Minister of War, his Minister of Justice, and his Councillors; but he took care not to give them titles suggesting any usurpation of imperial power, nor to abolish any of the time-honoured posts in Kyōtō.

These changes were radical. They signified a complete shifting of the centre of power. During eighteen hundred years from the time of the invasion of Jimmu, the country had been ruled from the south; now the north became supreme. The long and fierce struggle with the autochthons had produced the Bando soldiery, and these not only gave the country its new rulers but also constituted their support.

Yoritomo's success may further be regarded as the triumph of military democracy over imperial

aristocracy. Many of his followers were descended from men who, originally serfs of Kyōtō nobles, had been sent to the provinces to till the soil and procure sustenance for their lords. The rise of the Kamakura government was thus a revolution in a double sense, being not only the substitution of a military democracy for an imperial aristocracy, but also the rehabilitation of a large section of the nation who had once been serfs.

It is easy to see that the Fujiwara themselves were directly responsible for the development of provincial autonomy. Their attitude towards everything outside the capital had been one of studied inactivity. When a military disturbance arose in one district and was quelled by the efforts of another, the ministers in Kyōtō refused to recognise the services of the latter, on the plea that local interests alone had been concerned. Even when foreign invaders (the Tartars) were repulsed, the Fujiwara Regent, not having himself raised a finger in defence of the country, nevertheless hesitated to reward the men that had averted the peril. Such a policy, if continued, must have annihilated all national spirit. Happily it worked its own overthrow by teaching the provincials their independence.

Yoritomo made the mistake of estimating his own personality more highly than the interests of the great clan he represented. He killed all the Minamoto leaders that seemed capable of dis-

puting his sway, and he thus left the clan fatally weakened at the time of his death. Kamakura was then divided between two parties, the literary and the military. With the former were associated Masa, Yoritomo's widow, and her family, the Hōjō. A struggle ensued. Masa intrigued to preserve the succession for her own son in preference to her step-son, who had the right of primogeniture. Both of the aspirants were ultimately done to death, and the final result was that a baby nephew of Yoritomo was brought from Kyōtō to fill the office of *Shōgun*, the head of the Hōjō family becoming Vicegerent (*Shikken*).

Thus, within a few years after Yoritomo's death, there was instituted at Kamakura a system of government precisely analogous to that which had existed for centuries under the Fujiwara in Kyōtō. A child, who on State occasions was carried to the council chamber in the lady Masa's arms, served as the nominal repository of supreme power, the functions of administration being really performed by the representatives of a paramount family.

These were a great pair, the lady Masa and her brother, Hōjō Yoshitoki, the Vicegerent. By inflexibly just judgments, by a policy of uniform impartiality, by frugal lives, by a wise system of taxes imposed chiefly on luxuries, and by the stern repression of bribery, they won a high place in the esteem and love of the people. There is nothing to suggest that they would have volun-

tarily sought to encroach further on the prerogatives of the Court in Kyōtō.

But the Court itself provoked their enmity by an ill-judged attempt to break the power of the Shogunate. It issued a call to arms which was responded to by some thousands of cenobites and as many soldiers of Taira extraction. Kamakura, however, sent out an army which annihilated the Imperial partisans, and from that time all the great offices in Kyōtō were occupied by nominees of the Hōjō, even the succession to the Throne requiring their mandate.

It fared with the Hōjō as it had fared with all the great families that preceded them: their own misrule ultimately wrought their ruin. Their first eight representatives were talented and upright administrators. They took justice, simplicity, and truth for guiding principles; they despised luxury and pomp; they never aspired to a higher official rank than the fourth; they were content with two provinces for estates; they did not seek the office of *Shōgun* for themselves, but always allowed it to be held by a member of the Imperial family, and they sternly repelled the effeminate, depraved customs of Kyōtō. But in the days of the ninth representative, Takatoki, a new atmosphere permeated Kamakura. Instead of visiting the archery-ground, the fencing-school, and the manage, men began to waste day and night in the company of dancing-girls, professional musicians, and jesters.

The plain, simple diet of former days was exchanged for Chinese dishes. Takatoki himself affected the pomp and extravagance of a sovereign. He kept thirty-seven concubines, maintained a band of two thousand actors, and had a pack of five thousand fighting dogs.[1] Moreover, the prestige of the northern soldiers suffered a severe shock.

A wave of Mongol invasion, striking the shores of *Kiushiu*, involved battles on sea and on shore, and in the marine contests the southern soldiers showed themselves much better fighters than the northern. Now it was on the reputation of the northern soldiers, the *Bando Bushi*, that Kamakura's military prestige rested, and with the decline of that prestige the supremacy of the feudal capital began to be questioned. Yet another factor inimical to the interests of the Hōjō was a recrudescence of the military power of the monks. By Court and people alike the destruction of the Mongol armada was attributed, not to the bravery and skill of the troops, but to the intervention of heaven, and instead of rewarding the generals and soldiers that had fought so stoutly, the Court lavished vast sums on priests that had prayed and on temples where portents had been observed. Oppressed by the heavy taxes imposed for these purposes, the people lost confidence in the Hōjō, who had hitherto protected them against such abuses, and the monks,

[1] See Appendix, note 2.

in obedience to their Imperial benefactor, were ready to take up their halberds once more against Kamakura.

The sceptre was held at that moment by Go-daigo (1319–1339). An accomplished scholar, he had acquired intimate knowledge of politics during many years of life as Prince Imperial, and it is beyond question that, long before his accession, he had conceived plans for restoring the reality of administrative power to the Throne. A woman, however, — that constant factor of disturbance in mediæval Japan — was the proximate cause of his rupture with Kamakura. His concubine, Renshi, bore a son for whom he sought to obtain nomination as Prince Imperial, in defiance of an arrangement made by the Hōjō, some years previously, according to which the succession was secured alternately to the senior and junior branches of the Imperial family. The Kamakura government refused to entertain Go-daigo's project, and from that hour Renshi never ceased to urge upon her sovereign and lover the necessity of overthrowing the Hōjō.

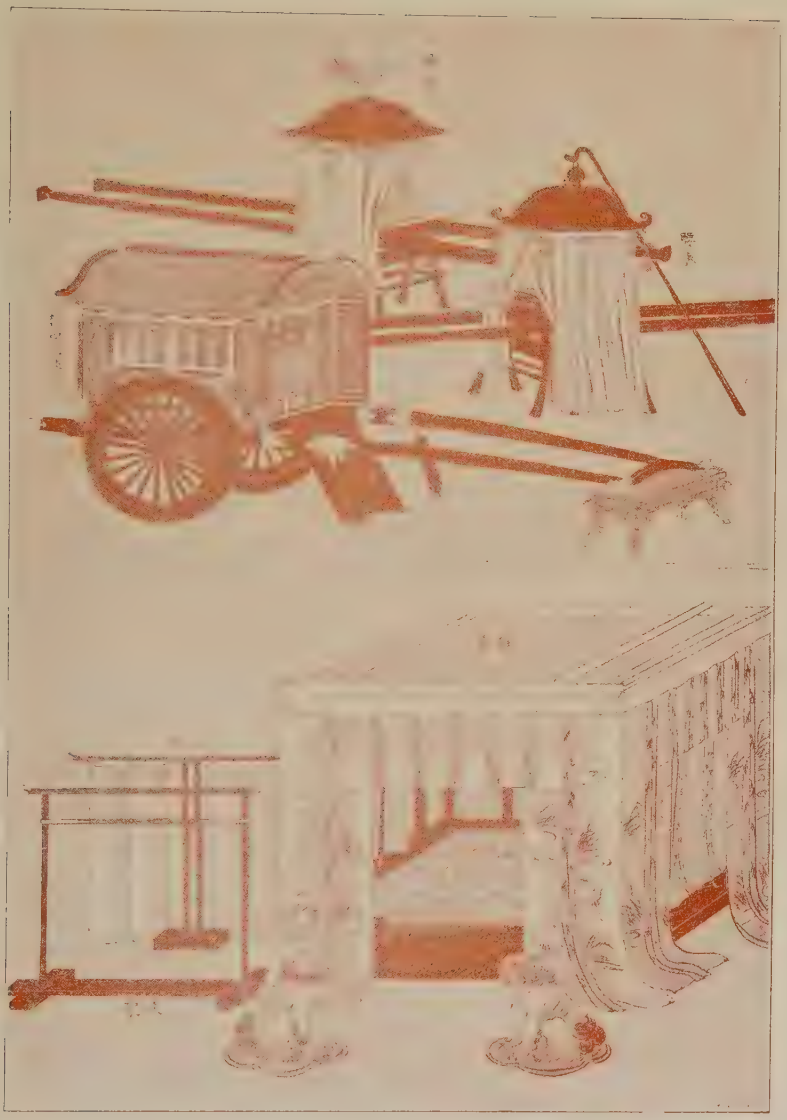
As for the *entourage* of the Throne at the time, it was a counterpart of former eras. The Fujiwara, indeed, wielded nothing of their ancient influence. They had been divided by the Hōjō into five branches, each endowed with an equal right to the office of Regent, and their strength was thus entirely dissipated in struggling among themselves for the possession of the prize. But

what the Fujiwara had done in their days of greatness, what the Taira had done during their brief tenure of power, the Saionji were now doing, namely, aspiring to furnish Prime Ministers and Empresses solely from their own family. They had already given five consorts to five Emperors in succession, and zealous rivals were watching keenly to attack this clan which threatened to usurp the place long held by the most illustrious family in the land.

An incident paltry in itself disturbed this exceedingly tender equilibrium. Two provincial chiefs became involved in a dispute about a boundary. Each bribed the Kamakura Vicegerent to decide in his favour, and each failing to obtain a decision, they finally appealed to arms. Soon the country was in an uproar. A number of nobles and fraternities of monks formed an alliance in Kyōtō for the overthrow of the Hōjō. The conspirators adopted a peculiar device to disarm suspicion: they abandoned themselves to debauchery of the most flagrant nature. But one of them took his wife into his confidence, and she carried the news to her father, an officer in the Hōjō garrison of Kyōtō. The conspiracy was crushed immediately. The Emperor, however, managed adroitly to disavow his own connection with it. He thus saved himself, but forfeited the sympathy of many of the nobles and retained the allegiance of the priests only. At this juncture the heir apparent of the junior Imperial line

died, and the Emperor sought once more to obtain the succession for his favourite mistress's son. But the Hōjō ruled that the spirit of the law of alternate succession would be violated unless the representative of each line actually occupied the Throne in turn. A new conspiracy resulted from this failure, and a strong force was sent from Kamakura to destroy the plotters and dethrone the Emperor. Then commenced the most sanguinary era in Japanese history. The Emperor, disguised as a woman, eluded his enemies for a time, but was soon captured and sent into exile in the little island of Oki. Nevertheless, the Imperial cause still found many supporters, and although the Hōjō were able to put a large and splendidly equipped force into the field, it lacked a leader. One man only among the Hōjō generals possessed all the necessary qualities, Takauji, the representative of the Ashikaga clan. But he had inherited a sacred legacy, handed down from generation to generation in his family, the task of avenging his ancestor, Yoritomo's son,[1] and restoring the rule of the Minamoto. When, therefore, he found himself at the head of a large section of the Hōjō's forces, he immediately opened communications with the Emperor, received an Imperial mandate to destroy the enemies of the Throne, and stormed the Hōjō stronghold in Kyōtō, while Nitta Yoshisada, another of the most renowned

[1] See Appendix, Note 3.



heroes of Japanese history, marched an army against Kamakura. The last of the Hōjō Vicegerents committed suicide with many of his captains: Kamakura fell, and the day of genuine Imperial sway seemed to have at length dawned.

But the Emperor Godaigo, however brave in adversity, was not wise in prosperity. At the very moment of his escape from the control of the Hōjō, he ignored the lessons of history, and laid the foundation of a new usurpation by conferring immense rewards and high office on Ashikaga Takauji. At the same time he estranged the other captains by neglecting their claims. Prince Moriyoshi, whose succession to the Throne had been the proximate cause of all these troubles, constituted himself the representative of the discontented southern soldiers, for he, like them, had hoped to see the administrative power restored to the sovereign, not handed over to the Ashikaga. The Court nobles, on the other hand, imagining that the hour had come to shake off military supremacy, treated the soldier class with contempt and supported the Emperor's resolve not to reward them. Godaigo removed the military men from the provincial posts; replaced them by representatives of the Kyōtō aristocracy; bestowed estates on a multitude of courtiers, from princes to actors and dancing-girls; levied a tax of five per cent on the property of the provincial officials, and began to issue paper

money. Very soon, however, discovering the danger to which he exposed himself by exalting Takauji, he tried to avert it by encouraging the latter's rivals. Thus the situation became again pregnant with elements of disquiet: the Court nobles against the military ; the southern generals, represented by the renowned Kusunoki Masashige and Nitta Yoshisada, against the northern, represented by Ashikaga Takauji ; the partisans of the Hōjō watching for an opportunity to restore the fallen fortunes of the clan, and Prince Morinaga, though distrusted by the sovereign holding command of the Imperial forces. The Hōjō commenced the campaign. Saionji Kunimune, whose family no longer supplied Imperial consorts and Prime Ministers, as it had done in the Hōjō days, planned to poison the Emperor at a banquet. The plot was discovered, and in the confusion that ensued, Prince Morinaga thought that he saw an opportunity to overthrow the Ashikaga. But the Emperor willingly denounced his son, and handed him over to Takauji, who imprisoned him in Kamakura, where he perished miserably. Shortly afterwards, the Hōjō partisans attacked Kamakura and recovered possession of it. Takauji was in Kyōtō at the time. Disregarding the Emperor's reluctance to commission him, he moved against the Hōjō and re-captured Kamakura. Undoubtedly in taking that step he had resolved to free himself from Court control. Thus, when the Emperor summoned him to

return to Kyōtō, he paid no attention to the mandate.

Japanese historians have been harsh in their judgment of Takauji. His attitude towards the Throne has been severely censured. But it does not appear that he contemplated more than others had previously compassed, namely, the establishment of a military dictatorship. The difference between his case and Yoritomo's was that the latter received Imperial recognition, the former dispensed with it. For the rest, each was a soldier before everything, and neither aimed at the Throne. Takauji is the central figure of the greatest political disturbance Japan ever knew, but the feature that chiefly differentiates him from the ambitious nobles who in earlier eras aspired to precisely the same authority, is that whereas they climbed to power by espousing the sovereign's cause, in appearance at all events, he established his sway independently of Imperial recognition. That, however, is a distinction rather than a difference. It is true that the Fujiwara when they overthrew the usurping Soga, the Taira when they displaced the despotic Fujiwara, and the Minamoto when they broke the strength of the arbitrary Taira, all seemed to come to the rescue of the Throne. But each in turn took as little subsequent account of the Throne's authority as though they had ignored it from the outset, and the Hōjō, whom Takauji now crushed, had established themselves at Kamakura in open

despite of the Court's denunciation. It cannot be said, therefore, that Takauji violated precedent when he refused to come to Kyōtō for a commission and organised a military government at Kamakura on his own authority.

The empire immediately became divided into two camps. The adherents of the Court flocked to Kyōtō; those of the Ashikaga to Kamakura. The Emperor appointed Nitta Yoshisada to command the Imperial army. It moved in two bodies towards Kamakura, — one by the sea-coast, the other by the inland route. A third force marched to the attack of the place from the north. In this supreme struggle the two foremost figures are those of Yoshisada and Takauji. They were not well matched. Takauji was in all respects one of the greatest men Japan had ever produced. Yoshisada, though a splendid soldier so far as bravery and daring were concerned, stood on a much lower plane than Takauji as a strategist and politician. Besides, public opinion inclined to the Ashikaga leader. The partiality of the Court had produced an evil impression on the nation. Men remembered with regret the wise and beneficent rule of the Hōjō's best days, and hoped that Takauji might prove the founder of a similar race of good governors. Takauji's reputation already justified these hopes. He had shown himself not only sagacious and daring, but also free from the narrow jealousies and cold reserve that disfigured Yoritomo's char-

acter. Open-handed and frank, he won love everywhere without forfeiting respect. The smallest merit did not escape his observation, or go unrewarded. Ambition, however, overmastered him; want of organising capacity impaired his success, and when he found himself confronted by perils of overwhelming magnitude, he stooped to crimes correspondingly great.

At first victory rested with Yoshisada. But when Takauji himself took the field, the aspect of things changed at once. He not only shattered Yoshisada, but pushed on and took Kyōtō. Unable to hold the city, however, he was soon compelled to retire southward, and the Court, believing his power completely broken, abandoned all further precautions.

Kusunoki Masashige alone remained vigilant. A noble type of soldierly loyalty, this man, whose memory remains as fresh in the hearts of his countrymen to-day as it was five centuries ago, had never wavered in his allegiance to the Imperial cause, and by sheer force of stubborn courage had survived situations that appeared overwhelming. Knowing Takauji too well to credit the permanence of his defeat, he vainly endeavoured to procure from the Emperor pardon for the Ashikaga leader. Very soon Takauji justified these apprehensions. He collected a great force, naval and military, and established his base at Hyōgo. The Emperor ordered Masashige and Yoshisada to march against him.

But Masashige, appreciating the helplessness of a direct conflict, would have resorted to stratagem: he proposed to strike at Takauji's line of communications. This wise counsel being derided as cowardice by the Court nobles, who knew nothing of warfare, Masashige gathered seven hundred of his stanchest followers and struck full at the huge phalanx of the enemy. Six hundred and fifty of the brave band fell fighting, and Masashige with the remaining fifty committed suicide on the banks of the Minato River. Thereafter Yoshisada's army was easily routed, and Takauji re-entered Kyōtō.

The Emperor now fled to a monastery and Takauji nominated his successor. There was no arbitrary exercise of king-making power: Takauji merely set up the junior Imperial line in lieu of the senior. Democratic as was the spirit of the northern captains, they did not venture to openly flout the national traditions of the sovereign's divine right. In the desultory struggle that ensued there is only one phase worthy of special attention. It is the conduct of the Emperor Godaigo. Invited by Takauji to return to Kyōtō on the slender plea that the Ashikaga had fought against the Imperial followers, not against the Imperial person, Godaigo left his son and his faithful general, Nitta Yoshisada, disregarded his promises to them, and abandoned himself to a life of safety under the shadow of the Ashikaga. Yoshisada, with a little band of seven hundred

followers, fled northward, taking with him the young prince. Attacked among the snows of Echizen by a greatly superior force, he barely escaped to Kanasaki castle, whither Takauji sent a powerful army to attack him by land and by sea. The nation looked to see Yoshisada surrender at discretion. But such a thought does not seem to have occurred to him. He resisted all assaults successfully until a chance arrow killed him. His end was less glorious though not less honourable than that of his comrade and peer, the grandly loyal soldier, Kusunoki Masashige.

Meanwhile in Kyōtō the Emperor's attempt to recover a semblance of power by submission to the Ashikaga, failed. Takauji trusted neither him nor his followers, but treated them as prisoners, until the Emperor, taking heart from some symptoms of provincial support, fled to the monastery of Yoshino. This took place in 1337, and from that time, during a space of fifty-five years, two sovereigns reigned simultaneously, Yoshino being called the Court of the Southern Dynasty, Kyōtō that of the Northern. Those fifty-five years were an epoch of almost incessant fighting. The Emperor Godaigo died at Yoshino with his sword grasped in his hand. His people class him with Tenchi and Kwammu as one of Japan's greatest sovereigns. Yet it is doubtful whether the same credit would be accorded to him had he occupied a less exalted station.

Solid success could never have been achieved by a leader in whose nature the sensuous element preponderated so largely. Circumstances, too, were hopelessly against him. Fate condemned him to be crushed between the two great forces which convulsed his kingdom. That he chose the weaker side was perhaps an error of judgment, but to have chosen the stronger would have involved the sacrifice of his imperial aspirations.

The Ashikaga differed from the Hōjō chiefly in this, that whereas the Hōjō eschewed all the excesses and extravagances which had weakened their predecessors, the Ashikaga practised them. The Hōjō did not seek high rank or great estates, but chose rather to use titles and riches as means of rewarding proved friends or placating potential foes. The Ashikaga, on the contrary, grasped and enjoyed all the rewards of victory. Their only bid for popularity was to reduce the taxes levied on the provincial officials from five per cent of their incomes to two per cent. Takauji himself became *Shōgun*, caused members of his family and prominent men among his followers to be nominated to various high offices, and enriched himself and them with estates or sinecures wherever such a course was possible. Probably his greatest error was that he restored the seat of government to Kyōtō. The beauty and grace of the noble ladies of the capital completely intoxicated the northern warriors, and alliance after alliance was formed between these rough soldiers

and the families of the effeminate aristocrats whom they had hitherto despised. Those that could not by fair means obtain wives among these dainty dames, often had recourse to foul expedients. A passion for gambling was soon added to the excitements of the capital. Swords and armour were staked on a throw of the dice, and men learned to dread war, since it called them away from the delights of the Imperial city. Even the principle of loyalty, the first article of the *bushi's* creed, began to be weakened, for the turmoil of the time brought such sharp and incalculable changes of fortune that no certain advantage seemed to accrue from adhering to one leader, however secure his position might appear. It became every man's first business to look out for himself. There is no blacker period of Japan's history. Fealty and honesty disappeared from the ethics of the time. Even before Takauji died, the powers that he had hoped to bequeath to his descendants had been largely usurped by his lieutenants. Treachery and intrigue were in the air. Men that espoused the cause of the Northern Dynasty yesterday were found fighting for the Southern to-day. The great barons in the provinces paid little heed to the Ashikaga rule. Each fought for his own hand. If an official of high aims attempted to stem the current of corruption and abuses, it closed over his head, for integrity immediately provoked slander.

To Yoshimitsu, third of the Ashikaga *Shōguns*,

belongs the credit of reconciling the two Courts and putting an end to the dual monarchy. This achievement won for him in history a greater name than he deserved, for if he possessed some of the virtues of his class, he was also a slave to the vices of his era.

With the unification of the monarchy (1392) commenced what is called the "Muromachi Epoch," because Yoshimitsu established his headquarters at Muromachi, a district in Kyōtō. Similarly, as has been seen, the interval between the eighth century and the close of the fourteenth was divided into the Nara Epoch, the Heian Epoch, and the Kamakura Epoch, each of those places having been, in succession, the seat of administrative power. The Muromachi era commenced not simply with the reconciliation of the two Courts, but also with the establishment of some semblance of order in the affairs of the Ashikaga. A material increase of the power of the provincial nobles renders the era still further remarkable. The Fujiwara, the Taira, the Minamoto, the Hōjō, and the early Ashikaga leaders had all placed before themselves the complete centralisation of authority in their own hands. Yoshimitsu was content with a smaller result. The office of *Shōgun* remained in his possession, but a large measure of local autonomy was granted to certain great military chiefs, on condition of their loyal services in preserving order. Further, an

administrative post (*kwanryō*), second in importance to that of *Shōgun* only, was declared to be hereditary in three powerful families, and its holders had virtually uncontrolled discretion of affairs at Kamakura. These changes seem to have been dictated by a policy of opportunism rather than by calm judgment.

Yoshimitsu was swayed at one moment by high impulses, at another by sensuous inactivity. Incapable of persistence in great efforts, he had no sooner accomplished his immediate purpose than he reverted to a condition of luxurious ease and dilettanteism. Just as his study of Buddhism, though profound while it lasted, brought in the end only an access of epicureanism, so the lessons of history taught him to purchase a brief respite from warfare by concessions which could not fail to aggravate the difficulties of his successors. Two years after the unification of the monarchy, he took the tonsure and retired from official life. But he continued to exercise administrative authority, just as the ex-Emperors had done at the close of the Heian epoch. In fact he aped the fashions of Imperialism, whereas the Minamoto and the Hōjō had carefully preserved their status of subjects. Whenever he went abroad, his escort resembled that of a sovereign, and the magnificence of his mansion at Muromachi as well as the beauty of the grounds surrounding it, won for it the name of the "palace of flowers." He built for him-

self in his nominal retirement a three-storeyed edifice, the *Kinkaku-ji*, or "golden pavilion," which is still one of the sights of Kyōtō. The great territorial nobles had to contribute materials for its construction; the whole interior was a blaze of gold, and sumptuous banquets were given there with accompaniment of music and dancing.

From the days of Yoshimitsu the Ashikaga ceased to exercise administrative power. That was done by the Wardens (*Kwanryō*) at Kamakura whom they had themselves created. In *Kyōtō* the Regents had held the reins of government, in Kamakura the Vicegerents, and now the same procedure was followed by the Wardens, while the *Shōguns* themselves lived a life of ease and indolence in Kyōtō. But neither among the Wardens nor the *Shōguns* was there found a genius capable of controlling the elements of disturbance that grew out of the system of local autonomy established by Yoshimitsu. The country was gradually converted into an arena where every one fought for his own hand. Any man that deemed himself strong enough to win a prize in the shape of estates and power, stepped into the lists and turned his lance against the weakest adversary he could discern. Finally, a dispute about the succession to the *Shōgunate* furnished a line of general division, and there ensued a contest known in history as the "eleven years' war."

At the close of this long struggle Kyōtō lay almost in ruins. Temples, palaces, and dwellings had been razed to the ground, and the people were so demoralised that robbery and gambling became their chief occupations. Yet this was only the prelude to a wider contest of still more promiscuous nature. The incidents of the time recall the scenes of tumult and confusion produced upon a theatrical stage when "excursions and alarums" are prescribed by the playwright to create an impression of universal and bewildering unrest. The details cannot be reduced to any easily intelligible shape. They are nothing more than the vicissitudes that befell lord after lord, family after family, in an universal assault of arms. Nobody took any thought about the Imperial Court. Resources to bury an Emperor or to crown him had to be begged or borrowed, and even the necessaries of daily life could scarcely be procured by the sovereign's household. The *Shōgun* himself was an object of almost equal neglect. If splendid examples of fealty and heroism illumine the miserable story, its gloom is deepened by as many instances of treachery and self-seeking. Retainers did not hesitate to murder their lords; lieutenants to mutiny against their captains. The probable reward of treason become the commonest measure of fidelity. Short intervals of peace and rest varied the long battle, and once, under the rule of a Nagato chieftain, Ouchi Yoshitoki, Kyōtō

recovered some semblance of prosperity. But shortly after his departure from the city, noblemen of Imperial lineage might be seen endeavouring to earn a few cash by delivering lectures in the streets, or begging for "Regent's pence" to support the Court, and the Emperor himself was driven by dire necessity to sell his autographs for daily bread.

Meanwhile, despite the promiscuous character of the fighting throughout the country, the south and the north were still the nuclei of the contest, and as each succeeding phase of the struggle brought with it the ruin of some of the great clans that had constituted the strength of Kamakura or of Kyōtō, the provinces that stood comparatively aloof from this devastating warfare, or lay beyond the range of the tide of bloodshed, developed eminent strength. Such were the provinces included in the district called "Tōkaidō," or the "Eastern-sea circuit," a naturally rich and densely populated part of the Empire.

Among the Tōkaidō chieftains who now began to act leading rôles upon the stage, were Takeda Shingen of Kai, Uyesugi Kenshin of Yechigo, Oda Nobunaga of Owari, Hashiba Hideyoshi, afterwards known as the *Taikō*, a follower of Nobunaga, and Tokugawa Iyeyasu of Mikawa. This quintette saved Japan. Without them she must have become divided into a number of principalities, as her neighbour, Korea, had been,

and like Korea she might have lost many of the qualities that make for national greatness.

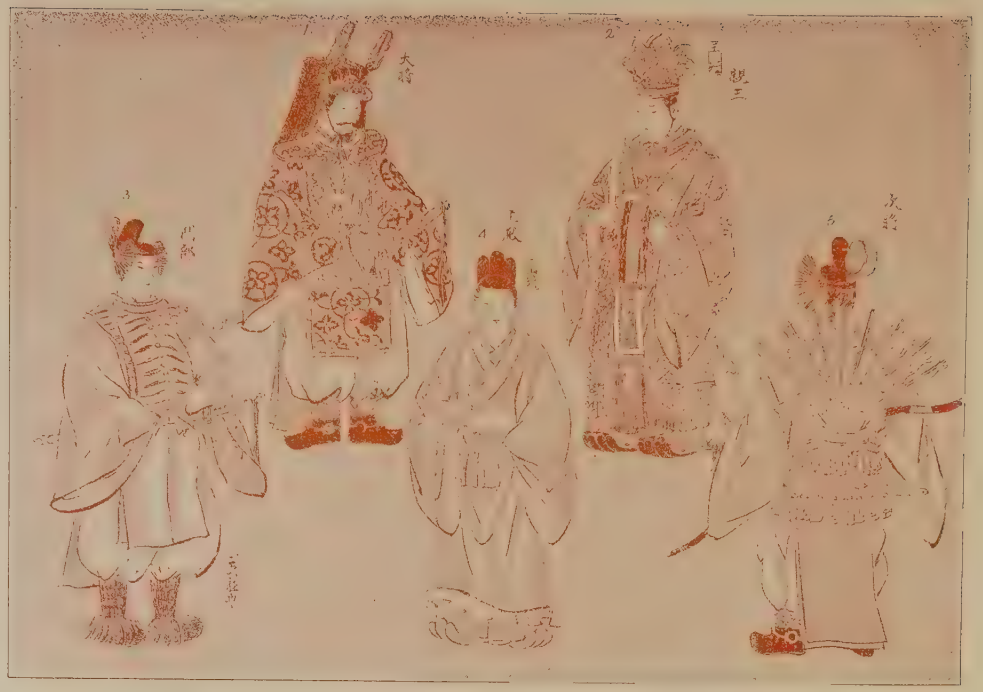
Takeda Shingen seems to have been devoid of every feeling that could interfere with the prosecution of his purposes. His nature lacked an emotional side; his will was adamant; his ideas presented themselves with lightning rapidity and in perfect order. He neglected no resources of training and erudition, and he made the welfare of the people an object as important as the discipline of his soldiers.

Oda Nobunaga, on the contrary, was the very type of a jovial, careless warrior. An able leader, an intrepid and daring captain, with all the qualities necessary to secure obedience and attract devotion, his fault was that he relied chiefly on the force of arms, and trusted more to the strength and swiftness of a blow than to the subtlety of its delivery. These two men already towered high above all their contemporaries when the long record of war and confusion reached its last chapter.

Militant Buddhism had now again become a great power in the State. At the darkest hour of the Muromachi epoch, even the priests in Kyōtō succumbed to the general demoralisation, and were found among the gamesters and marauders. One sect only, the Ikko, possessed large influence, owing to the virtue and eloquence of its great preacher, Renjo. But this sect believed in the sword as a weapon of propagandism, and

did not hesitate to enlist the most lawless and unscrupulous elements of the population among its adherents. The religious fanatics were strong enough to defy the governors of the northern provinces, where their principal centre of power lay. They destroyed family after family of their opponents, and even the illustrious Hosokawa Harumoto, one of the most powerful nobles of the time, had to appeal to the Nichiren sect for aid against them. Thus the religious bodies wielded a power which no one, though he were the *Shōgun* himself, could afford to disregard. Even the *Shintô* priests of Ise had a military organisation numbering thousands of halberdiers.

Under such circumstances Christianity made its advent in Japan. It was brought to Kiushiu by the Portuguese, and with it came fire-arms, as well as many evidences of a new and dazzling civilisation. A large number of people adopted it, less, perhaps, because its doctrines convinced them, than because several of the prominent nobles, attracted by the material novelties that came in the train of the new creed, and by the prospects of the commerce it foreran, set the example of welcoming the Christian propagandists. A fresh element of disturbance was thus introduced. Christianity did not disarm opposition by displays of gentleness or forbearance. It relied on the stalwart methods which in mediæval Europe bound the unbeliever on the rack and the recusant to the stake. The Buddhist and *Shintô*



priests combined against the foreign faith, and its chief patron, the great Ouchi clan, was overthrown.

Oda Nobunaga had now asserted his superiority to nearly all rivals in arms. He was ably assisted by Hashiba Hideyoshi, one of the great men of the world, not of Japan only. Nobunaga's career was a series of brilliant victories, but to describe it in any detail would require an array of names and an analysis of clan relations intolerably confusing to a foreign reader. Among the enemies he had to encounter were the monks of Hiyei-zan and Hongwan-ji, and while, on the one hand, he destroyed these great monasteries and put many of their inmates to the sword, on the other, he assumed towards Christianity an attitude of political friendship rather than of conscientious approval. His protection of the alien creed has been variously interpreted, but there cannot be much doubt that though he allowed his son to embrace the Roman Catholic doctrine, and though Christianity, under the ægis of his favour, obtained some twenty thousand converts in Kyōtō alone, he cared little for it at heart, and saw in it mainly a weapon for diminishing the dangerous and turbulent strength which the Buddhist priests had long possessed. Nobunaga has been compared to Cromwell, but his disposition was permeated by a vein of general *bonhomie* foreign to the character of the great Puritan. His method of reform was as thorough

as his military discipline. Order and peace were soon restored in Kyōtō under his sway, and when the *Shōgun* attempted to resort to the wonted device of levying forced contributions on the citizens for his own luxurious purposes, Nobunaga presented to him a sternly worded document of arraignment, in which seventeen charges of misconduct were categorically set forth. Only one general could make head against Nobunaga in the field. This was Takeda Shingen, and fortunately for the peace of the realm he died before his rivalry could effectually change the current of events, then at length setting towards administrative unity. Takeda's exploits need not be considered here further than to say that they contributed materially to regenerate the era and to restore the nation's ideal of soldierly qualities.

Oda Nobunaga met a fate not uncommon in that age: he fell a victim to the treachery of a lieutenant. But swift and signal vengeance was wreaked upon the traitor by Hashiba Hideyoshi, who after Oda's death became the most prominent figure in the realm.

Hideyoshi's career was in one sense typical of the era; in another, strangely inconsistent with it. Had not the time-honoured lines of social distinction and hereditary prestige been entirely obscured, such a man could never have risen to the highest place attainable by a subject. Born in the family of a poor soldier, the best future anticipated for

him by his father was service in the lowest ranks of some nobleman's retinue. As a boy he gave no indications of great capacity, his physical imperfections — a stunted stature, an exceptionally dark complexion, and a strikingly ill-favoured countenance — not being compensated by any show of diligence in study or aptitude in acquiring knowledge. Wayward, mischievous, unendowed with any attractive or seemingly promising qualities, he received no help from any friendly hand on the way to fortune. Yet in a sense his humble origin may be said to have aided him, for had he belonged to any of the great families whose struggle for supremacy was deluging the country with blood, the mere fact of his lineage must have arrayed against him a host of hostile rivals. Solely by force of military genius he conquered wherever he fought; by an innate perception of the value of justice and the uses of clemency he made content and tranquillity the successors of turbulence and disaffection; by an extraordinary insight into the motives of men's actions, he was able to detect and utilise opportunities that would have been invisible to ordinary eyes; by signal magnanimity he disarmed his enemies,[1] and by subtle appeals to the emotional side of human nature he won the homage of men who, until the moment of contact with him, had believed themselves his superiors. Himself swayed by strong emotions, he flashed readily

[1] See Appendix, note 4.

into anger, but the errors to which passion might have goaded him were generally averted by noble yielding to impulses of generosity and fair play.[1] Capable of profound and lasting attachments, he inspired in his followers sentiments of love and devotion, and while he shrank from no means to attain an end, it was his delight to repair ultimately with generous hand any temporary injuries he inflicted on others in his pursuit of fortune.[2] Born in an epoch where the idea of nation or empire had little significance in the ears of military chiefs each fighting for his own hand, he set the welfare of the country and the dignity of the Empire above all other considerations, and thought rather of the greatness of Japan than of the aggrandisement of a fief. It has been truly said that the Muromachi era was in many respects the darkest period of Japanese history, yet it produced Oda Nobunaga, Hashiba Hideyoshi, Tokugawa Iyeyasu, and many others who, though less illustrious, deserved in many respects almost equal honour.

Hideyoshi's campaigns need not occupy attention. It is enough to say that he brought the whole Empire within one circle of administrative sway, of which he himself was the centre. The office of regent he caused to be conferred on himself, though it had never previously been held by any man lacking the qualification of imperial descent, and he would fain have been

[1] See Appendix, note 5. [2] See Appendix, note 6.

Shōgun also, partly because he had a *parvenu's* love of rank, partly because he deemed such distinctions essential to the efficient exercise of governing power. But the social canon which restricted the *Shōgunate* to a prince of the blood or a descendant of the Minamoto family, could not be set aside even in favour of a Hideyoshi.[1] Thus his career, beginning in hopeless obscurity and culminating in practical headship of the Empire, implies a complete overthrow of the old barriers of caste and precedent, yet it also indicates the existence of a limit beyond which no ambition might soar. There were, in fact, two thrones in Japan, the throne occupied by the "Child of Heaven" (Tenshi) and the throne occupied by the feudal sovereign, the *Shōgun*, and the occupancy of the former was not more strictly confined to the lineal descendants of Jimmu than was the occupancy of the latter to a scion of the Minamoto.

Not suffering from the defect that disqualified Hideyoshi for the *Shōgunate*, and succeeding to the fruits of Hideyoshi's genius, Iyeyasu, the Tokugawa chief, was able to organise a feudal government that lasted for two and a half centuries, whereas the *Taikō's* sway may be said to have died with himself. Iyeyasu and his achievements, however, must be spoken of independently.

Upon the story of the military epoch one trait of Japanese character is indelibly impressed, a

[1] See Appendix, note 7.

tendency to trespass upon direct authority and to submit to it when delegated. During the first five centuries of the historical period, this trait is illustrated by the anomaly of a nation's obedience to titles derived from imperialism by aristocrats that flouted the imperial prerogatives. During the next five centuries the same picture is seen in more varied forms, — the Emperor Shirakawa and his successors ruling under the shadow of the throne they had abdicated; the Hōjō Vicegerents governing for the Minamoto through the authority of a puppet *Shōgun;* the Wardens of later days administering affairs under commissions from the *fainéant* Ashikaga. It appears to have been a political necessity that the source of power should be abstracted from the agents of its exercise.

Chapter II

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE MILITARY EPOCH

THE notable points in a retrospect of the Military epoch stand out clearly by comparison with the imperial system of the eighth century. There ceased to be any regularly organised provincial army from which troops could be detached at fixed intervals for service under the Central Government in the capital. There ceased to be any pretence that the Crown's right of eminent domain received practical recognition. There ceased to be any active faith in the doctrine that every subject in the Empire belonged to the sovereign as a child belongs to its father. The local chieftains thrust themselves between the Throne and the people; held wide estates where the Government's tax-collector might not set foot, and required of their vassals obedience even to the point of ignoring the sovereign's mandates and defying his emissaries. The Court nobles in Kyōtō were not without vassals of their own; but this difference existed, that whereas the Court nobles received their servants as a gift from the Emperor, and

had only such power over them as the law permitted, the provincial chiefs exercised absolute authority over their followers, rewarding them with lucrative posts or grants of land and punishing them with imprisonment or death. It was thus that there grew up in the provinces a large body of men skilled not only in administration but also in arms; bound by strong ties of gratitude, loyalty, and expediency to their own particular chiefs, and strictly forbidden to transfer their services elsewhere without special permission. Japan, as an entity, did not exist in the mental vista of these vassals. For each his fief was his country.

Class distinctions partially lost their ancient value under such circumstances. The provincial captains, coming into collision with the Court nobles who were immeasurably superior to them in social rank, by right of might stripped them of their estates and dignities, and even sent them into exile or contrived their death. The provincial vassals, often men of mean origin, the despised *semmin* who formerly laboured under so many disabilities, found themselves raised to the level of honoured subjects, brought within reach of high offices, and entrusted with large authority. Thus the old distinction of *ryōmin* (respectable people) and *semmin* (degraded people) disappeared in great part, and there grew up in its place a classification derived less from accident of birth than from the nature of a man's employ-

ment. The broad lines of the new division were four: military (*shi*),[1] agricultural (*no*), industrial (*ko*), and commercial (*sho*); the merchant being placed at the bottom of the scale, the artisan above him, and the farmer, who paid the greater part of the taxes, ranking next after the soldier.

It is plain, however, that this four-fold classification of *shi-nō-kō-shō* excludes many means of gaining a livelihood which are practised in every organised community. Religious prejudices were chiefly responsible for the exclusion. From what had been already written about the extremely strict laws of pollution and purification, the reader will readily infer that not all professions, be they ever so useful and honest, could be regarded by the Japanese as honourable. Thus every occupation that brought a man into contact with unclean things, as the corpses of human beings, the carcasses of animals, and offal of all descriptions, was degraded. In obedience, again, to another code of ethics, occupations that catered for the sensuous side of human nature, and every occupation without any fixed scale of remuneration, suffered some taint of ignominy. A large section of the population consequently fell under a social ban, which was not removed until the great reformation of the *Meiji* era in recent times. Not infrequently the members of this section are broadly spoken of as *Eta* (people of many impurities). But the *Eta* were only a

[1] See Appendix, note 8.

fraction of the whole. Originally immigrants from Korea who practised the professions of tanning and furriery, they owed their name to their polluted occupation, and their descendants through all generations, as well as any Japanese that drifted into their rank, occupied the position of social pariahs. The great fifth estate of mediæval Japan, however, is very imperfectly described by the term *Eta*. It included a large number of industrials and professionals whose social debasement constitutes an interesting illustration of the ethics of mediæval Japan. The *Chōri* headed the list. This term has no dishonourable import: the ideographs used in writing it signify "head officer." Originally the *Chōri* were Buddhist friars. Their name occurs historically for the first time in the days of the celebrated scholar and philanthropist Shotoku (572-621). He established a charity hospital, and gave to the priests that had charge of its interior arrangements and ministrations the name of *Chōri*, calling those that attended to the exterior duties *Hinin*, or "outcasts." It has already been stated that, in early times, the tendance of the sick was held to pollute a man, and even the charitable doctrine inculcated by Buddhism could not protect the *Chōri* from the taint of their occupation, while those who, for the sake of mere pecuniary recompense, undertook to dispose of the bodies of the dead and to perform menial duties in connection with the hospital, were considered un-

worthy to rank as human beings. During the interval of six centuries that separated the time of Prince Shotoku from the commencement of the Kamakura epoch under Yoritomo, nothing is heard of either *Chōri* or *Hinin*, and it is believed that the latter term was applied only to criminals of the lowest class. But when Yoritomo undertook the re-organisation of society on a basis of military discipline, he appointed an officer called Danzayemon Yorikane to the post of *Chōri*, entrusting him with absolute control over all persons excluded from the four-fold classification of soldier, farmer, mechanic, and merchant. It appears, therefore, that the office thus rehabilitated bore no relation whatever to its prototype in Prince Shotoku's time.

The list of persons who thus became, in effect, subjects of Danzayemon, was very long. At the head of it should be placed, perhaps, the *Hinin*, or outcasts, whose principal duties were connected with executions and prisons. The office of headsman had a special occupant, but all executions other than decapitation were performed by the *Hinin*, under the direction of the *Chōri*. To them was entrusted the head of a criminal for exposure during a fixed period, and it was their business to conduct a condemned man when he was carried around the city on horseback as a preliminary to execution. They also discharged the office of torturers in judicial trials; they tattooed criminals; they wielded the spear at crucifixions,

and the saw when heads were taken off with that instrument; and they executed all the sentences pronounced against Christians. In battle the *Hinin* were placed in charge of the heads taken from the enemy, and at the last great fight which finally established the Tokugawa sway, the Danzayemon of the time received a gold seal with the significant inscription, "gatherer," in token of the numerous trophies thus entrusted to him. Beside this seal there lies among the heirlooms of the Danzayemon family an autograph copy of the Lotus Scripture, which, when the celebrated Buddhist priest, Nichiren, was led out for execution, he gave to one of the *Hinin* who commiserated his fate. Had there been in any age a literary Danzayemon, he might have enriched his country with some invaluable memoirs.

The *Eta* seem to have occasionally enlisted for services connected with criminals, but their general occupation was the tanning of hides and the preserving of skins. It need scarcely be said that men who cremated the bodies of the dead were classed among the *Hinin*, as also were the guardians of tombs. The pollution of all these is easily understood, but that a similar stigma should attach to plasterers, and makers of writing-brushes and ink, was due to a less evident cause, namely, that their trade obliged them to handle the hair and bones of animals.

The category of degraded persons was largely extended by the inclusion of all who resorted to irreg-

ular methods of obtaining a livelihood. Among these the most numerous were the beggars. Many kinds of beggars plied their profession in ancient Japan. There was the ordinary itinerant beggar; the cross-roads beggar; the river beggar (so called because he inhabited a hut constructed of boulders from the bed of a stream); the mendicant friar, who sometimes asked for alms in the most commonplace manner, sometimes went about with a wooden bowl and a long-sleeved robe, sometimes beat a metal vessel or a gourd and recited prayers or intoned formulæ about the evanescence of life, sometimes chaunted verses and struck attitudes; and finally, there was the mummer beggar, who acted a part similar to that of the waits in England. Almost as numerous as the beggars were the professional caterers for amusement in various forms: the man who, with a deftly waved fan in his hand and a variously folded kerchief on his head, danced a musicless measure by the roadside; the puppet-show man; the performer of the *sarugaku* music; the monkey-master; the keeper of a miniature shooting-gallery where flirting and assignations were more important than archery; the actor, the Dog-of-Fo dancer, the brothel-keeper, the peep-show man, the dog-trainer, the snake-charmer, the story-teller, the riddle-reader, the juggler, the acrobat, and the fox-tamer. Necromancers and diviners were also reckoned among outcasts,—a significant fact, indicating the robust sentiment of the military age as

compared with the spirit of the time when interpreters of the Book of Changes (the *Inyō-shi*) were consulted on the eve of every important enterprise. It is not to be inferred, however, that superstition had faded out of the life of the people at large. The agricultural, the industrial, and the mercantile classes continued to torment themselves as much as ever about omens, affinities, coincidences, apparitions, demonology, enchantment, and divination, and even the inferior orders of the military often laboured under similar delusions. The great founder of the Tokugawa dynasty, Iyeyasu, makes a strange appearance in the annals of the monkey-masters just enumerated. On entering the city of Yedo to make it his stronghold, his favourite horse fell sick, and instead of consulting a horse-leech, he ordered the *Chōri* to summon a monkey-man, whose incantations cured the animal. Thenceforth, on the 11th of January, year after year, the *Chōri* received several strings of cash in the castle scullery for distribution among the monkey-masters.

All persons who made a livelihood by means of performing animals were credited with occult methods. Even the trainer of the docile dog was regarded mysteriously. On the occasion of the Moriya rebellion in the sixth century, Toribe-no-Yorozu, whose title shows that he had to tend the birds kept in the Palace, entrenched himself with a hundred companions and defied the Imperial troops. Threatened with starvation, he forced

his way through the besiegers, and reaching the bank of a river, cut off his own head so that it fell into the stream. His body was thereafter hewed into eight pieces, and these, according to Korean custom, were exposed at eight places. It is related that a white dog which had been his pet, ran perpetually for several days from fragment to fragment of the corpse, guarding them from birds and beasts of prey, and finally, finding the head in the river, carried it into a deserted house, and having secreted it there, remained at the place until death from hunger ended the vigil. The Emperor, hearing of these things, caused the parts of the dead rebel's body to be collected and decently buried, and erected in memory of the dog a tomb which may be seen to this day in the province of Kawachi. Numerous instances of similar intelligence and fidelity made it easy for people to believe that the dog was more than a mere beast, and as for the fox, its cunning had always been counted supernatural. The fox-tamer spoken of above did not actually exhibit the uncanny animal at public performances. His business was to conjure in its name. There had once been a rustic who by virtue of the incantations of a Buddhist priest obtained the brush of a fox in a dream. Some intricate process of deduction led men to believe that if certain formulæ were repeated and certain rites observed, one could procure the services of a fox to benefit oneself at the cost of injuring some one else. If three

balls of rice were tied to a straw rope a hundred palms long, and were carried at midnight on a hundred consecutive nights to the shrine of Inari, a palm's length of the rope being deposited at the shrine on each occasion, the rice would ultimately be eaten by a fox which thenceforth became the servant of the worshipper, provided that his heart was free from carnal lust. The professional fox-tamer undertook to produce the same result without these troublesome preliminaries, and one could thus enrich oneself and bring fever or madness on an enemy. On the other hand, if a man possessed this power, it was believed that the fact showed itself by miraculous and voluntary materialisation of his thoughts, so that if he happened to think of a snake as he watched a friend eating a meal, the reptile would immediately appear among the friend's viands, or if a sorrowful mood visited him as he reflected on another's conduct, the subject of his reflections would at once be moved to tears. The fox-tamer, dog-trainer, or snake-charmer being thus unable to fully control his wayward servant, ordinary men shunned him carefully; a fact which doubtless helped to determine the degraded position assigned to him by official classifiers.

The fact that while the keeper of a brothel was placed among the polluted, no such stigma attached to the inmates of the brothel, must be attributed to the theory that the adoption of a life of shame could never be a matter of free volition,

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but must either be attended by extenuating self-sacrifice or result from uncontrollable misfortune. In truth, the ranks of prostitution were chiefly recruited with children sold to save their parents or brothers from starvation or dishonour and with kidnapped girls. No female regarded the profession with any feeling but the profoundest horror.

Among the ignominious populace there were some whose relegation to such a place is hard to understand; as the makers of tiles, of hats, of bow-strings, of lamp-wicks, and of horse-reins; the caster of metal, the stone-cutter, the ferryman, the dyer, and the barrier-watchman.

Danzayemon Yorikane, the first official commissioned to control this large class of persons, was a military man of some standing, but his office ultimately shared the degradation attaching to its connections. The power he wielded and the wealth he accumulated must have compensated to a great extent for his loss of caste. As to his power, the members of the degraded classes being disqualified to enter a Court of Justice, full authority to adjudicate their disputes and punish their offences was vested in Danzayemon; and as for his wealth, it is recorded that many merchants of standing borrowed large sums from him habitually. Such transactions were secretly arranged, for even pecuniary dealings with a *Chōri* involved contamination. The representative of the family in the beginning of the eighth century, desiring

to break down the irksome barriers of caste, invited his debtors to a banquet. The great majority of them resented the invitation as a gross impertinence, but some few felt constrained to accept it. When these latter sat down to the magnificent repast prepared for them, they found their soup-bowls filled with gold coins, and the souvenirs handed to them when they took their leave were their own promissory notes. Danzayemon nevertheless remained an outcast. No payment could purchase his elevation from that grade. It need scarcely be said that alike for him, for his family, and for all members of the various professions and trades under his control, marriage with persons of the superior classes was strictly interdicted.

The extraordinary vicissitudes of men's fortunes during the Military epoch were reflected in the state of Kyōtō. At one time the very centre of luxury and magnificence, it became, at another, a scene of desolation and penury. Kiyomori, the Taira chief, had the wisdom to see that the strength of his soldiers and the integrity of his officials could not be preserved amid the turbulence, disorder, lawlessness, and debauchery of the Imperial city. He made Fukuhara, near Hyōgo, the seat of administration, and moved the Court thither, much against the will of the aristocratic families. Very soon Kyōtō's condition was such that a poet of the time described it as a town where "the streets had become grassy moors; the

moonlight shone on ruins only, and the autumn wind told sad stories of the past." But when the Hōjō family fell from power and Kamakura ceased to be the seat of government, Kyōtō quickly recovered its old importance. An anonymous placard exposed at the market-place in the early part of the fourteenth century gave the following picture of the metropolis: —

The things that abound in the capital now are night-attacks; robberies; forged Imperial decrees; calls to arms; galloping messengers; empty tumults; decapitations; recusant priests and tonsured laymen; degraded nobles and upstart peers; gifts of estates and confiscations of property; men rewarded and men slaughtered; eager claimants and sad petitioners; baggage consisting of manuscripts only; sycophants and slanderers; friars of the *Zen* and priests of the *Ritsu;* leaps to fortune and neglected talents; shabby hats and disordered garments; holders of unwonted batons and strangers asking the path to the Palace; Imperial secretaries who affect wisdom, but whose falsehoods are more foolish than the folly of fools; soldiers saturated with finery, who wear hats like cooking-boards and strut about fashionably at the fall of evening in search of beautiful women to love; wives who simulate piety but live lives abominable to the citizens; official hunters holding each an emaciated hawk that never strikes quarry; leaden dirks fashioned like big swords and worn with the hilts disposed for ready drawing; fans with only five ribs; gaunt steeds; garments of thinnest silk; second-hand armour hired by the day; warriors riding to their offices in palanquins; plebeians in brocade robes; civilians in war panoply and surcoats; archers so ignorant of archery that their falls from their

horses outnumber their arrows; new exercises of arms without any teacher to show their methods; Kyōtō and Kamakura seated side by side making verselets. All over the country poetasters abound and literary critics are still more numerous. Hereditary vassals and new retainers practise equal license; a lawless society of *samurai*. Dog-mimes which forestalled the ruin of Kamakura are all the fashion here. Men meet everywhere to drink tea and light incense, while the fires of the watch-houses in each street burn in rude sheds built with three boards and festooned with official curtains. Many *samurai* are still without residences, and many half-built houses disfigure the city. Vacant spaces swept last year by conflagrations are counted lucky sites to-day. Deserted dwellings stand desolate. Discharged *samurai* troop through the streets, preserving their official strut, but without any business except to make obeisances to one another. The old-time hills of blossom and groves of peach are unvisited. Men and horses crowd the Imperial city. *Samurai* with high-sounding titles, relics of past glory, would fain lay aside these encumbrances, but men who in the morning were foddering beasts of burden, find themselves in the evening with full purses and in high favour on account of some petty service rendered to the Emperor. Merit is neglected on the one hand, lawlessness is exalted on the other. The recipients of fortune doubt its reality, and can only trust blindly to their Sovereign who bestowed it. A strange thing, truly, the unification of the nation! A lucky fellow I, who have seen these singular events come to pass, and now jot down a fraction of them!

Of the confusion existing in the capital and of the critical eyes with which some men of the time viewed it, this anonymous writer gives us

a vivid impression. It is, indeed, bewildering to reflect what a complete subversal of the old order of things must have taken place when the rude warriors from the provinces, unlettered, ignorant of Court etiquette, without respect for time-honoured rank and careless of social canons, trooped into the Imperial city and substituted their blunt, practical ways for the effeminate perfunctoriness of the hereditary officials. A Japanese historian, writing when the memory of the events he described was still fresh, said: —

Even when the whole nation was in danger, its rulers did not know that they were hated by the people. The great families abandoned themselves to luxury, and thought only of finding means to gratify their costly caprices. Talentless and incapable, they could nevertheless obtain ranks and rewards wholesale. They sat in the seats of judgment and stood in the places of guards, but they themselves paid no respect to the laws nor knew anything of discipline. Simulating loyalty, they made a pretence of seeking the Sovereign's consent before initiating a measure, but in reality their acts were purely arbitrary. Thus, when the *samurai* grasped the administrative power, they began to ask, "What profit is there in these Court nobles?" So they deprived them of their estates, not hesitating even to confiscate lands that belonged to the Imperial family. The social fêtes and feasts were abolished, and nothing survived but severe ceremonies. The Imperial Palaces became desolate, and subjects no longer repaired thither to do homage to the Sovereign. Ministers of State, who from generation to generation had received the nation's homage, had to bow their heads to petty

officials appointed by the *Shōgun*, who was now the depository of power. The Five Great Families began to curry favour with these low-born officials. They studied the provincial dialects and gestures because their own language and fashions were ridiculed by the *samurai* whom they met in the streets. They even copied the costumes of the rustic warriors. But it was impossible for them to hide their old selves completely. They lost their traditional customs and did not gain those of the provinces, so that, in the end, they were like men who had wandered from their way in town and country alike: they were neither *samurai* nor Court Nobles.

But the Court nobles had their revenge, for the luxury and debauchery which the *samurai* treated with such contempt at the outset, ultimately proved the ruin of the *samurai* themselves. Kyōtō was a kind of political barometer. When it reached its highest point of magnificence and splendour, a revolution could always be predicted. Probably its zenith of glory was in the days of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (1368-1374). He undertook the building of temples and palaces on a scale suggesting that the resources of the nation had only one fitting purpose, the embellishment of the capital. A pagoda three hundred and sixty feet high and a "golden pavilion" (*Kinka-ku-ji*) were among his most celebrated constructions. The former disappeared altogether in the "eleven years' war" half a century later, and of the latter only a portion remains, — a three-storyed pavilion, the ceiling of its second storey

decorated with paintings by a celebrated artist, and the whole interior of the third storey, ceiling, walls, floor, balcony-railing, and projecting rafters, covered with gilding which was thickly applied over varnish composed of lacquer and hone-powder. Traces alone of the gold can now be seen, but the effect when the edifice was in full preservation must have been dazzling. Yoshimasa, who succeeded to the Shōgunate in 1449 and is remembered as Japan's foremost dilettante, erected a Silver Pavilion (*Ginkakuji*) in imitation of his predecessor's foible, but never carried it to completion. Of Kyōtō as it was in his days, at the middle of the fifteenth century, before long years of war reduced it once more to ruins, only a faint conception can be formed from the descriptions of subsequent writers, for they employ adjectives of admiration instead of recording intelligible facts. Here is what one of them says: —

The finest edifices were, of course, the Imperial Palaces. Their roofs seemed to pierce the sky and their balconies to touch the clouds. A lofty hall revealed itself at every fifth step and another at every tenth. No poet or man of letters could view these beauties unmoved. In the park, weeping willows, plum-trees, peach-trees, and pines were cleverly planted so as to enhance the charm of the artificial hills. Rocks shaped like whales, sleeping tigers, dragons or phœnixes, were placed around the lake, where mandarin ducks looked at their own images in the clear water. Beautiful women wearing perfumed garments of exquisite

colours played heavenly music. As for the "Flower Palace" of the *Shōgun*, it cost six hundred thousand pieces of gold (about a million pounds sterling.) The tiles of its roof were like jewels or precious metals. It defies description. In the Takakura Palace resided the mother of the *Shōgun* and his wife. A single door cost as much as twenty thousand pieces of gold (£32,000). In the eastern part of the city, stood the Karasu-maru Palace, built by Yoshimasa during his youth. It was scarcely less magnificent. Then there was the Fujiwara Palace of Sanjo, where the mother of the late *Shōgun* was born. All the resources of human intellect had been employed to adorn it. At Hino and Hirohashi were mansions out of which the mother of the present *Shōgun* came. They were full of jewels and precious objects. (The writer then enumerates the palaces of twenty-seven noble families.) Even men that made medicine and fortune-telling their profession, and petty officials like secretaries, had stately residences. There were some two hundred of such buildings, constructed entirely of white pine and having four-post gates (i. e. gates with flank entrances for persons of inferior rank). Then there were a hundred provincial nobles, great and small, each of whom had a stately residence, so that there were altogether from six to seven thousand houses of a fine type in the capital.

The writer then devotes pages to enumerating the great temples that stood in the city and its suburbs. Of one he says that it was "bathed in blossoms as a mountain is in clouds," and that "in the rays of the setting sun the roof glowed like gold," while "every breath of air wafted around the perfume of flowers." Of another — *Shō-kaku-ji*, which Yoshimitsu built — he affirms

that one of the pagodas cost a hundred times as much as thirteen pagodas of a century later. Of a third he says that "its fifty pagodas stood like a row of stars." And his eulogies end with the lament: "Alas! The city of flowers which was expected to last for ten thousand years, became a scene of desolation; the home of the fox and the wolf. Even the temples of Tōji and Kitano, which survived for a time, were ultimately reduced to ashes. Peace succeeds war, rise follows fall in all ages, but the catastrophe of the *Ōnin* era (1467) obliterated the ways of Emperor and of Buddha at once. All the glories of Imperialism and all the grandeur of the temples were destroyed for ever. Well did the poet write: 'The capital is like an evening lark. It rises with song and descends among tears.'"

Something must be allowed for the obvious exaggeration of this writer, but the fact remains that the city of Kyōtō attained its zenith of grandeur in the middle of the fifteenth century; that it was reduced, a few years later, to a mere shadow of its former self, and that it never again recovered its old magnificence. Yet, even in the days of which the writer quoted above speaks in such glowing terms, Kyōtō could not compare with the city that was destined to grow up in the east of the country during the eighteenth century under the sway of the Tokugawa Shōguns.

One more quotation, from a work compiled in the middle of the sixteenth century, may be

added here for the sake of the plaintive picture it presents of the ruin caused by the furious and continuous fighting which the great trio, Oda Nobunaga, Hashiba Hideyoshi, and Tokugawa Iyeyasu, at last brought to an end: —

From the time of the Ōnin (1467) struggle, the *samurai* turned their back on the capital and returned to the provinces. The days of the Imperial city's splendour were over. The Emperor's palace was rebuilt, but on a greatly reduced scale, and Ashikaga Yoshimasa caused some fine edifices to be erected. But when the war grew still fiercer, in the Kiroku era (1528–1532), every street became a battle-field; the soldiers applied the torch to sacred temple, stately mansion, and spacious palace alike, and the citizens fled for their lives to remote places. Desolation grew more desolate. The two rivers of Kamo and Kibune joined their streams and flowed into the street of Madeno-koji, so that a dyke had to be built to stem the floods, and willow-trees having been planted on it, people built their houses there and thought it a fair place, so humble had their ideas become. The Imperial Palace was a roughly constructed edifice. It had no earthen walls, but was surrounded with bamboo fences. Common people boiled tea and sold it in the garden of the Palace under the very shadow of the Cherry of the Right and the Orange of the Left. Children came and made it their playground. On the sides of the main avenue to the Imperial pavilion they modelled mud toys; and sometimes they peeped inside the blind that hid the Imperial apartments, but no one was visible within. The Emperor himself lived on money gained by selling his autographs. The meanest citizen might deposit a few coins together with a written state-

ment of his wishes, as "I want such and such a verse from the 'Hundred Poets' Songs,' or I desire a copy of this or that section of the 'Ise Tales.'" After a certain number of days the commission was sure to be executed. At night the dim light of the apartment where the Palace Ladies lived could be seen from Sanjo Bridge. So wretched and lowly had everything become.

Much the same story might be told of Kamakura, the capital of the Minamoto and the Hōjō; of Odawara, the second capital of the Hōjō, and of Yamaguchi in the south, where the Ouchi family sat ruling the six provinces of Suo, Nagato, Buzen, Chikuzen, Aki, and Iwami, and growing rich by means of their monopoly of the country's foreign trade; and whither many of the Court nobles fled when Kyōtō ceased to be habitable by any but strong soldiers. The cities of Japan have invariably grown to greatness under the shadow of the Government.

The great vicissitudes mentioned above convey a fact which must not be lost sight of in studying the Military epoch, namely, that it extended over a period of nearly four centuries, and that, during the social and political convulsions which marked its course, many of the customs and institutions of the nation underwent changes almost as violent as the events amid which they occurred.

As to the dwellings of the aristocratic classes in Kyōtō during the first two hundred years of the Military epoch — the "illustrious houses,"

as they were called — there is little to be added to what has already been written on this subject with regard to the Heian epoch. Conspicuous progress was subsequently made in the matter of interior decoration, but of that it will be necessary to speak elsewhere.

Military residences, however, presented some special features. Their general character aimed at simplicity. There were two enclosures, each surrounded by a strong boarded fence. A fosse encircled the whole. Outer and inner gate alike were "two footed," and the latter had sometimes flanking watch-towers. These gates seldom carried roofs, though an occasional exception was made in favour of a roof covered with earth to a depth of some inches. Within both gates were places of arms, where various weapons stood ranged, and inside the second gate there was a kind of vestibule for depositing foot-gear. Archery ranges and ball courts were provided, but the residence itself was small and plain. It comprised a hall having a dais with a lacquered chair for distinguished persons, a women's apartment, a servants' room, and a kitchen. The heating apparatus was a hearth sunk in the floor, and all the household utensils were kept in a cupboard. It was the policy of Yoritomo and the Hōjō Vicegerents to encourage a plain style of living. The outer fence of the great Hōjō Yasutoki's mansion being in a state of decay, his officers wished to build an embankment, but he withheld his as-

sent, saying that the task would require much labour, and that an embankment could never protect him if the bravery of his comrades did not suffice. To such an extent was this spirit of austere simplicity carried that great military chiefs, who possessed wide estates and commanded many soldiers, might be found sleeping in a veranda, their guards in the open places-of-arms beside the middle gate, and their servants on the floor of the stable; an arrangement typical of absolute readiness for any emergency. By and by the Zen sect of Buddhism began to flourish. It inculcated the doctrine of abstraction which was supposed to render the devotee superior to all his surroundings, and to educate a heart that defied fate. This creed immediately attracted the *samurai*. The mood it produced seemed to him an ideal temper for displays of military valour and sublime fortitude; the austere discipline it prescribed for developing that mood appealed to his conception of a soldier's practice. Even the construction of his dwelling reflected this new faith. He fitted up a room for purposes of reading and abstraction, calling it a "study" (*sho-in*), and to the inner gate of the enclosure he gave the name *gen-kwan*, or "the hall of the origin," in allusion to the saying of Laotsze, "the origin of the origin, the gate of all truth." A different meaning afterwards came to be attached to the *gen-kwan*, as will be seen presently. The "study" was, in fact, a modified form of the old "bedroom." The latter had

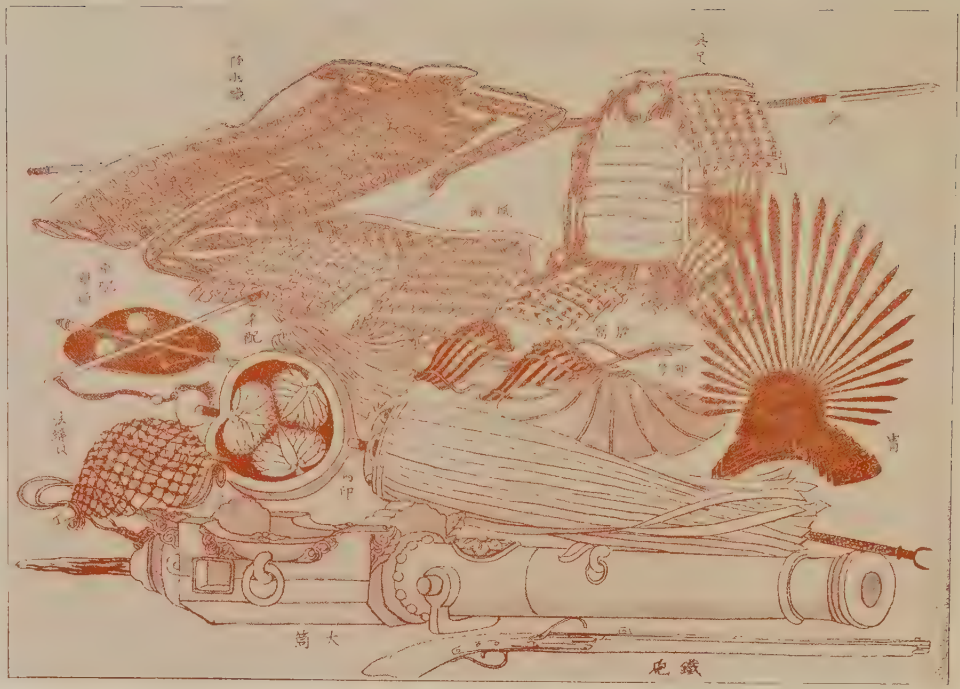
bamboo blinds hung round it, and was closed by latticed shutters swinging on hinges, which could be raised so as to form a kind of awning in fine weather, but, when lowered, rendered the room dark and gloomy. In the houses of the Zen monks sliding shutters covered with thin white paper, possessing the peculiar translucidity of unglazed paper made from rice-straw, were substituted for bamboo blinds, and the hanging lattices were either retained, or replaced by wooden doors which could be slid along a groove and thus removed altogether during the day. There resulted a chamber immensely improved in the matter of light, warmth, and privacy, for although the papered doors gave free passage to light, they effectually concealed from outside observation everything within. Another feature borrowed from the Zen monasteries was an alcove. This consisted of a recessed space, on one side of which a sacred picture could be hung or a Buddhist image placed, to serve as an object for contemplation while practising the rite of abstraction; on the other side, a cupboard above and a cupboard below, separated by a shelf, were used for writing materials, books, and incense utensils. In its original form the alcove was unpretentious, being destined simply to serve the purposes just mentioned. But its decorative capabilities soon obtained recognition. Rare woods were sought for its ground slab and its shelves; curious timbers for its pillars, and pictures by great artists or rich

products of the lacquerer's art for the panels of its cupboards. It became, too, a species of cabinet for the display of objects of virtu. Celebrated paintings, or autographic scrolls by renowned men, were suspended on its wall, and choice specimens of porcelain, jade, or bronze were ranged on its shelves. That use of the alcove belongs, however, to a late period of the epoch, and is to be associated with the architecture of the "illustrious houses" in the cities rather than with that of the military residences in the provinces. The original and long-obeyed conception was that the objects appropriate to an alcove were limited to a religious picture or image, a bell (*shō*) for ringing during prayer, a "worldly-dust-brush" (*hossu*) such as priests carried, and the "three armour-pieces" of Buddha, namely, a pricket candlestick, a censer, and a flower-vase.[1] The use of the *tatami* — that is to say, the thick mat of plaited straw and invariable dimensions, which has already been described in speaking of the Heian epoch — was greatly extended during the times now under consideration. Instead of being laid on the dais of state and in sleeping and women's chambers only, these essentially Japanese objects covered the floors of all the rooms, even military men not considering them too comfortable. It has to be observed, however, that men of very high rank, social or official, did not sit in direct contact with the mats: they used cushions, round or square,

[1] See Appendix, note 9.

made of silk crape stuffed with cotton wool. Ultimately these came into vogue in every well-to-do household.

Tiled roofs were still regarded as altogether beyond the competence of any but the greatest folk. It is for that reason that in the above-quoted descriptions of Kyōtō's grandeur in its palmiest days, the play of light upon the roofs of notable edifices is a feature always emphasised. The reference is not, however, to ordinary lustreless tiles of baked earthenware, but to richly glazed tiles procured from China, and also to copper slabs with which the roofs of palaces and great temples were sometimes covered. The green tile of China captivated Japanese fancy. But it could not be manufactured in Japan until a comparatively late period of the Military epoch. The middle of the thirteenth century found Japanese potters producing their first vitrified glazes on small utensils for the tea-drinking ceremony. Glazed tiles were still beyond their strength. By way of substitute for them, slabs of copper bronze were employed, which quickly developed a beautiful green patina when exposed to climatic influence. Expensive as such a substitute seems, it was not, perhaps, so very costly by comparison, seeing what difficulties attended the carriage of stoneware tiles from the interior of China to Kyōtō. Roofs in general were boarded until the sixteenth century, when instruction derived from Korean potters gave an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extensive impetus to the manufacture of tiles. In the better class of house the roof-boards were held in place by girders, but humble folk used logs of timber or stones to prevent wind-stripping, and these weights imparted an untidy, rude appearance to the structure.

The "hall of the origin" (*gen-kwan*) served a new purpose, and underwent a corresponding modification towards the close of the fourteenth century. It has been stated that in Kyōtō the guards of a mansion were usually quartered in a back-room, whereas in provincial military mansions they occupied barracks on either side of the inner gate, which the *samurai*, in their zeal for the Zen doctrines, called the *gen-kwan*. The Kyōtō nobles, in the Muromachi epoch, finding it expedient to have guards close to the entrance, enlarged the vestibule of the main building so that it became a "spacious chamber," and, by a process of derivation at once apparent, gave the name *gen-kwan* to the vestibule of this chamber. Thus was reached the final form of the aristocratic mansion, — a double vestibule (*gen-kwan*), the larger section being for the ingress and egress of the master of the house and his guests; the smaller for that of the womankind, the soldiers, and the servants, and a hall (*hiroma*), around which, as well as in the vestibule, weapons of various kinds were ranged in upright racks.

In the same epoch (Muromachi), when the tea ceremony, which will be spoken of presently, had

become popular, a special room, or suite of rooms, was added for its uses. Large mansions had also a chamber with a stage for the mimetic dances called *saru-gaku*, in which every accomplished gentleman was supposed to be able to take a part, and for which stores of magnificent costumes were an essential part of aristocratic household furniture.

It was, however, in the matter of interior decoration that architecture made its chief advance at this period. From the twelfth century, a great school of decorative painters, known in art records as the Yamato Academy, began to attract national attention, and were merged, in the fourteenth century, into the Tosa Academy, whose members carried the art of pictorial decoration to an extraordinary degree of elaboration and splendour. Masters of colour harmonies, highly skilled in conventionalising natural forms, and unencumbered by any canons of cast shadows, these experts were now employed to decorate the sliding doors, walls, and ceilings of the various chambers, and, from the fifteenth century, they were assisted in the work by the Sesshiu and Kano academies, with their noble breadth of conception and tenderness of fancy, so that the decorative motives ranged from battle scenes, historical episodes, mythical legends, and even *genre* subjects, to landscapes, waterscapes, representations of bird and animal life, and floral designs of large variety.[1]

[1] See Appendix, note 10.

Pictorial decoration, elaborate and beautiful as it was, did not constitute the principal item of cost in constructing these mansions. It was rather upon rare woods, uniquely grown timbers, exquisite joinery, and fine plastering that great sums were lavished. Single boards eighteen feet square; pine stems forty feet long without any appreciable difference of diameter throughout; carpenter's work as accurate as though all the parts of a building had grown together naturally instead of being joined artificially, — these involved outlays even greater than the sums lavished on the decorative artist.

Protection against fire was sought by constructing separate storerooms, having solid wooden frames completely covered with mud and plaster. In earlier times, the chief object of a storeroom had been security against damp. Raised floors were consequently the distinctive feature of such edifices. But the conflagrations by which Kyōtō was devastated in the Military epoch taught the people that fire was their worst enemy, and they soon saw the expediency of protecting all the timbers of a building against direct contact with flame. In the thirteenth century the first fire-proof storehouse (*dozō*) made its appearance, and quickly took the shape it has retained ever since. Over the wooden framework layer after layer of plaster was laid, each being suffered to dry fully before the next was applied, until a thickness of as much as two feet was obtained.

The windows and doorways had hinged shutters, similarly solid; the roof also was plastered pending the time when tiles became more accessible, and a supply of mud was kept for the purpose of sealing all crevices in case of necessity.[1]

Although men were so constantly required to defend their houses against attack, no serious attempt was made until towards the close of the Military epoch to plan a building on defensive lines. Towers were sometimes erected near the gate for the purpose of watching for the approach of an enemy, and such expedients were employed as fixing nails, point upward, in the roofs of enclosures. But since no missile of greater penetrating power than arrows had to be expected, the strength of a building did not receive much consideration, and one result of that defect was that every war involved the destruction of many mansions by fire. Japanese generals were not without a sense of the value of fortifications. A celebrated example is that of the shelter trenches thrown up by the Taira leader, Munemori, at Ichi-no-Tani, in the province of Settsu, towards the close of the twelfth century. This work is often spoken of as a "castle," but in truth it was nothing more than a field fortification. Between beetling cliffs on the south and a precipitous slope on the north there lay a plateau which the Taira captain protected on the east and west by deep fosses, embankments, and strong palisades, effectual obstacles, if

[1] See Appendix, note 11.

well defended, against the weapons of that era. Minamoto Yoshitsune, whom Japan counts her greatest general after Hideyoshi, stormed the position by descending the apparently inaccessible precipice on the north, and the fame of the exploit gave to the fortifications a vicarious reputation to which they were not really entitled. Japan had nothing worthy to be called a fortress until the days of Oda Nobunaga and Hashiba Hideyoshi, and it was owing to the introduction of fire-arms that her old custom of fosse, earthen parapet, and palisade gave place to massive solid structures, Occidental in conception but Japanese in their leading features. The Portuguese discovered Japan in 1542, and brought with them fire-arms. It is true that the Mongols, when they invaded the island empire at the close of the thirteenth century, employed arquebuses, but the Japanese did not, at that time, acquire sufficient knowledge of these weapons to manufacture and use them subsequently. They derived that knowledge from their Portuguese visitors nearly three centuries later, and their weapons of offence having thus undergone a radical change, the old wooden wall and earthen parapet necessarily received modification. Sweeping changes were rapidly effected in the system of fortification. Forty years after the coming of the Portuguese, Hideyoshi constructed Osaka Castle.[1] Forty years is a brief space in the life of a nation, yet that short inter-

[1] See Appendix, note 12.

val sufficed to convert the fragile, flimsy structures of wood and clay, with their boarded towers and single-planked gates, which the soldiers of the Hōjō and the Ashikaga called strongholds, into colossal castles, with broad moats, lofty battlements, and stupendous escarpments of masonry.

The site chosen for Osaka Castle was a lofty plateau on the bank of the Yodo River. At the time when Hideyoshi fixed his eyes on this spot, it was occupied by a large monastery of *Shinshiu* monks, who, owing mainly to the splendid advantages that the position offered, had managed in previous years to beat off an assault made upon them by Hideyoshi's patron, the renowned soldier, Oda Nobunaga. That fact had much to do with the steps that Hideyoshi took to obtain an order from the Emperor for the removal of the monastery and its replacement by a castle which should protect the approaches to the Imperial city from the sea. The plan of the fortress showed three surrounding moats and escarpments, an arrangement which has always been adopted whenever possible by the architects of Japanese castles. These moats were about one hundred and fifty feet wide and twenty feet deep, and they not only contained from six to ten feet of water, but had numbers of wooden stakes fixed in the bottom to prevent an enemy from wading across. The revetment of the escarp was built with polygonal granite blocks, put together in the fashion of Japanese masonry, the blocks being pyramidal and

having the small end of the pyramid turned inward and the broad base outward. No mortar was used, and thus the revetment presented a slightly irregular rubble face. The corners and angles were strengthened with large quoins of carefully squared ashlar work, usually bound together by strong cramps of iron or copper. Each escarpment was crowned by a series of loopholed curtain-walls, one and a half feet thick, ten in the outermost enclosure, and five in each of the inner; and between these walls, or parapets, there were trenches, twelve feet wide and eighteen feet deep, covered with bamboos and earth so as to constitute pitfalls. The parapets were eight feet high on the face, but had on the inner side a banquette approached by stone steps. In building these walls clay mixed with salt was used, an old recipe which gave a hard and durable composition. The general trace was irregular, having salient and re-entering angles for purposes of flank defence, and the salient angles were crowned with pagoda-shaped turrets from twenty to thirty feet high. Within the outermost moat the space enclosed was one hundred acres, and that within the innermost, namely, the keep (*hommaru*), measured twelve and a half acres. There were no buildings except guardhouses in the outer belt, but in the inner stood the residence of Hideyoshi as well as extensive barracks, and in the keep-enclosure were forty-seven fire-proof storehouses for provisions, fuel, arms, medicine, and other necessaries, and

finally the donjon itself. This last, which had a base more than one hundred feet square, stood on a battering stone basement forty-eight feet high, access being by means of stone steps and platforms with projecting walls and battlements. The donjon was three-storeyed, over forty feet high. Its framework was of timbers, huge in scantling, and these were covered externally with a thick coating of clay plaster as a protection against fire. The granite blocks used in constructing the basement of the donjon, as well as those in the basements of the gates and turrets and at the corners and angles of the escarpments, were of huge size. Many of them measured fourteen feet in length and breadth, and some attained a length of twenty feet. These immense stones had to be conveyed by water from quarries at a distance of several miles. The moats were crossed by wooden bridges constructed so as to be easily destroyed by the garrison in case of emergency, and the main bridge was built in such a manner that by the removal of a single pin the whole structure would fall to pieces, —a fact from which it derived its name, "abacus bridge." It could thus be used by the garrison till the last moment. Each gate opened upon an inner court surrounded by a high parapet, from which a cross fire could be poured upon the enemy after he had forced the gate, as well as upon the bridge leading to the gate. In short, an assailant, having broken through the massive iron-bound timbers of an outer gate, found himself, not within the enceinte,

but in a kind of *cul-de-sac*, where he became the target for bullets, arrows, and other missiles poured upon him from all sides by a hidden foe; and in the face of such a fire he had to turn and force another gate at right angles to the original entrance. This method of division into spaces separately defensible, somewhat on the principle of the water-tight compartments of a modern war-vessel, was extensively applied to the inner keep, so that an assailant had to establish his footing square by square. There stood also high towers on either side of the gates, with numerous loopholes opening in every direction, and among the weapons of defence was a movable tower which could be wheeled to any point at will. The roof of the donjon was tiled with copper, and the gates were sheeted and studded with iron.

It is scarcely possible to conceive a greater contrast than that which this noble structure presented to the so-called "castle" of one of the Minamoto or Hōjō chieftains, where the only stones employed were for the foundations of the wooden pillars, and the only protection was a thin wall of clay-plaster easily penetrable by a musket bullet. That an architectural revolution so wholesale should have taken place within a period little longer than a generation, bears strong testimony to the reforming courage of the Japanese, to their elasticity of conception, and to their fertility of resource. One imagines that men whose military edifices had not hitherto possessed

the defensive capacities even of a log-hut, must have shrunk from the notion of building cyclopean escarpments, battlements, and donjons. But nothing has ever deterred the Japanese. Hideyoshi not only planned this vast work with perfect assurance, but by requiring each of the great nobles to undertake the construction of a part, he succeeded in having the whole completed within a twelvemonth. It will be objected, perhaps, that Hideyoshi himself towered as high above his countrymen in mental stature as did Osaka Castle above the shanties of Tokiyori and Takauji. But Hideyoshi's castle was only a type. Other men of his generation erected strongholds not less remarkable in proportion to the smaller resources of their constructors and the greater inaccessibility of fine materials. Several of these castles stand intact to-day. They form not only grand but also picturesque features in the landscape, for while the diminishing storeys of their keeps soften the oppressive effect of their massiveness, the graceful curves of their salient roofs crowned with terminals of gold or copper in the shape of huge carp or rampant dragons, present a sky-line at once bold and interesting.

Hideyoshi's castle was probably the strongest from a military point of view ever erected in Japan; so strong that when Iyeyasu reduced it after a long siege, he caused the outer moat to be filled up lest the place should ever again fall into the hands of his enemies. But in his own

capital of Yedo he built a castle on a far grander scale than that of Hideyoshi, though its greater size rendered it less defensible. Around it stretched a triple line of moats, the outermost measuring nine and a half miles in length, the innermost one and a half, their scarps constructed with blocks of granite nearly as colossal as those of the Osaka stronghold, though in the case of the Yedo fortification every stone had to be carried hundreds of miles over sea. The gates, the parapets, the towers, and all the accessories were proportionately as huge as those at Osaka, and the whole structure constituted one of the most stupendous works ever undertaken, not excepting even the pyramids of Egypt. There is not to be found elsewhere a more striking monument of military power, nor can any one considering such a work, as well as its immediate predecessor, the Taikō's stronghold at Osaka, and its numerous contemporaries of lesser but still striking proportions in the principal fiefs, refuse to credit the Japanese with capacity for large conceptions and competence to carry them into practice.

There is another aspect of the Yedo fortress that commands attention. Above the immense masses of masonry rose lofty banks of earth, their slopes turfed with fine Korean grass, and their summits planted with pine-trees, trained, year after year, to stretch evergreen arms towards the spacious moats. These moats varied in width

from one hundred and seventy yards to twenty-two, and through them flowed broad sheets of water, reaching the city by cunningly planned aqueducts from a river twenty miles distant; aqueducts which, as evidence of Japanese engineering skill, unassisted by foreign science, are scarcely less remarkable than the castle itself. In this combination we have an example of the homage to the beautiful that holds every Japanese a worshipper at Nature's shrine even when he seems to rely most implicitly on his own resources of brain and muscle. Placid lakes lapping the feet of stupendous battlements; noble pines bending over their own graceful reflections in still waters; long stretches of velvety sward making a perpetual presence of rustic freshness among the dust and moil of city life; flocks of soft-plumaged wild-fowl placidly sailing in the moats or sunning themselves on the banks, careless of the tumult and din of the streets overhead; sheets of lotus-bloom glowing in the shadow of grim counterscarps — where but in Japan can be found so deliberate and so successful an effort to convert the frowns of a fortress into the smiles of a garden? This castle of the Tokugawa Regents is a portion of the alphabet by which Japanese character may be read. Hidden beneath a passion for everything graceful and refined, there is a strong yearning for the pageant of war and for the dash of deadly onset, and just as the *Shōgun* sought to display before the eyes

of the citizens of his capital a charming picture of gentle peace, though its setting was a framework of vast military preparation, so the Japanese of every era has loved to turn from the fencing-school to the arbour, from the field of battle to the society of the rockery and the cascade, delighting in the perils and struggles of the one as much as he admires the grace and repose of the other.

All the great captains of the later military epoch, from Oda Nobunaga downward, sought to combine the artistic beauties hitherto peculiar to the "illustrious mansions" of Kyōtō with the strength and solidity demanded by the new weapons and greatly increased organisations of the era. It is, indeed, a very remarkable fact that *pari passû* with the growth of strategical ability, with the improvement of tactical methods, and with the development of military resources, the rude austerity of life affected by earlier warriors lost its value, and people ceased to count it incongruous that a leader of soldiers should be a lover of art. Possibly something of the change is attributable to the great strides made by art itself, both pictorial and applied, from the fourteenth century to the seventeenth. The painter, the sculptor, the worker in metals, the lacquerer, the keramist, all ascended to a plane not higher, perhaps, from the point of view of nobility of ideal, than that occupied by the glyptic artists of the seventh and eighth centuries, and the pictorial artists of the ninth, but certainly a plane of far greater achieve-

ment in a generally decorative sense. Yet when the history of all technical progress in Japan is examined, the student finds that the motive impulse, though its inception may not be plainly due to aristocratic or official patronage, certainly derives its lasting strength from that source, and it is impossible to doubt that the same principle applied to art in the Military epoch. The great academicians of Tosa, Sesshiu, and Kano; the grand carvers of the later Nara; the Jingoro schools; the Goto and the Myōchin masters who chiselled in metal as men paint on canvas; the potters of Seto, Bizen, Imari, and Kyōtō; the lacquerers who, from the middle of the fifteenth century, began to make the departure that ultimately led to such incomparable results, would never have risen to fame had not the nation's political and military leaders taken them by the hand. To Oda Nobunaga, indeed, is commonly attributed the first employment of decorative wood-carving in religious edifices. He is said to have caused figures of dragons to be chiselled on the pillars of a Buddhist pagoda within the precincts of a magnificent mansion erected by him at Azuchi in Omi, and from that time annalists are wont to date the beginning of this application of glyptic art to the ornamentation of interiors. But though there is no reason to doubt that to the patronage of Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Iyeyasu, must be attributed such a development and employment of wood-carving as enriched Japan with master-

pieces unsurpassed by any cognate products of artistic genius the world over, a difficulty presented itself with regard to the theory that this branch of applied art owed its inception to Oda Nobunaga. His castle at Azuchi was built in 1576; in 1585 Hideyoshi constructed the celebrated "Palace of Pleasure" at Momoyama, and in 1592 the *Shin* sect built the temple Nishi Hongwan-ji in Kyōtō. It will be observed that the erection of Hideyoshi's palace was separated from that of Oda's by only nine years, and that the interval between the latter event and the building of the Hongwan temple was seven years. The "Palace of Pleasure" was pulled down by order of Hideyoshi within a few years of its completion. Nothing certain, therefore, can be said about its details. But portions of it were distributed among the "illustrious mansions" of Kyōtō, and these relics indicate that wood-carving of the highest type was employed in its decoration. A two-leaved gate, called the "day-long portal," because a whole day might be spent studying its beauties, now stands at the Nishi Hongwan temple, whither it was brought from Momoyama. It is a noble specimen of carving, showing the highest skill in chiselling *à jour* and in relief. The subject is an incident from Chinese history, and the carver had told the story on each side of the panels as though they were leaves of an album.[1] It is scarcely a reasonable hypothesis that an art which had its

[1] See Appendix, note 13.

commencement in 1576 attained such a degree of development in 1585. As to the Hongwan temple itself, magnificent masterpieces of carving are to be seen in its ventilating panels (*ramma*), the subjects being tree peonies, angels, wild geese, phœnixes, cranes, flying squirrels, and grapes. The celebrated mausolea of the Tokugawa nobles in Tōkyō and Nikkō show greater profusion of glyptic ornamentation, but have nothing of finer quality than the chiselling of the *ramma* in the Kyōtō temple. Thus the Oda Nobunaga theory involves the conclusion that in the short space of sixteen years the application of glyptic art to interior decoration was carried from its genesis to its zenith. Naturally the disposition is to reject such a theory; but then a second difficulty is encountered, namely, that certainly no specimen of such work is known to have existed prior to the construction of the Azuchi Castle. It appears, therefore, that there is here another case of the extraordinarily rapid development already noticed with regard to military architecture. In forty years the Japanese passed from flimsy wooden edifices to solid stone structures of colossal dimensions, and in twenty they added to their scheme of interior decoration an application of glyptic art which has never been surpassed anywhere. There can be no question of a historical lacuna in the case of military architecture, since the cause of the new departure can be fixed with absolute accuracy, and there is no reason to sus-

pect any great historical lacuna in this other case of architectural decoration.

It would be proper at this place to supplement previous references to the development of temple architecture, but there has in truth been very little architectural development in these edifices, and it will not be improper to discuss them in general terms. The Japanese themselves are wont to speak of four stages of sacred architecture; that of the Suiko era, that of the Fujiwara era, that of the Momoyama era, and that of the Tokugawa era, — terms which will become more intelligible to a foreign reader if they are replaced by "ancient Buddhist epoch," "Nara epoch," "Kyōtō epoch," and "Tōkyō epoch." The buildings chosen as illustrative of these stages are, respectively, the *Hōryu-ji*, the *Byōdō-in*, the *Hongwan-ji*, and the mausolea of Shiba and Nikkō. But it must be confessed that a close examination of these structures fully bears out the dictum of Mr. J. Conder, the greatest living authority on Japanese architecture, that "from a time somewhat ulterior to the introduction of the Buddhist style until now, no important development or modification in the constructive art of temple building has taken place, the chief change being decorative, caused by the growth of the decorative arts." It is true that in the oldest of all these temples — the *Hōryu-ji* built in 607 A. D. — the wooden columns show very marked swelling, and this *entasis* has been regarded

as a proof of Grecian affinities. But the inference seems to have been hastily drawn; for whereas there are innumerable proofs that the principle of *entasis* was fully understood by the Japanese, and that they used it intelligently as a device to correct the hollow appearance which the sides of high pillars or long horizontal beams would present if perfectly straight, the so-called *entasis* of the *Hōryu-ji* columns is exaggerated to such a degree that they have distinctly bellied outlines. They do not, in fact, show *entasis* at all, but are intentionally convex. It is possible, of course, that the idea of *entasis* may have been derived by the Japanese from Greece *viâ* India, but the practical application of it is seen in the work of later architects, not in the *Hōryu-ji* columns, and there is no solid reason to suppose that the Japanese borrowed the principle at all and did not discover it by the exercise of their own remarkably accurate observation.

Nothing hitherto written on the subject of Japanese sacred architecture can be compared, in point of accuracy of observation and technical knowledge, with the accounts embodied in essays contributed by Mr. J. Conder to the Royal Institute of British Architects. As these essays are not accessible to the general reader, the following extracts may be quoted here: —

> The popular temples of Japan have generally one open enclosure with a grand two-storeyed gateway, continually left open to the public. A water-basin and

belfry are seldom omitted, but a pagoda is often wanting (these will be presently spoken of). The principal building, called the *Honden*, contains in some cases a large bronze image, and in some cases statuettes of wood or metal encased in small shrines, and revealed only on special occasions. In many temples there exist two *Honden* side by side, one for the founder and one for the deity, or one for each of two separately adored deities. This principal sanctuary is generally an oblong building raised some four feet from the ground. In some cases there are an inner and an outer sanctuary, separated by an interval room; in others the two sanctuaries are separated only by a screen or blind, the separation being sometimes emphasised by a different treatment of the ceilings of the two. These buildings vary greatly in size, there being in the larger temples an interior peristyle — or other arrangement of columns, often of great size, to support the roof — forming an ambulatory or aisle round the oratory, or sometimes round three sides of it, leaving the fourth to be occupied by the sanctuary and secondary temples on either side. The temple Tōdai-ji at Nara, which contains a celebrated bronze image of Buddha fifty-three feet high, measures two hundred and ninety feet long, one hundred and seventy feet wide, and one hundred and fifty-six feet high, being a two-storeyed building. The temple of Miyo-jin in Tōkyō measures sixty-six feet by twenty-seven feet high by forty feet to the ridge.

The building is invariably surrounded by a raised gallery, reached by a flight of steps in the centre of the approach front, the balustrade of which is a continuation of the gallery railing. This gallery is sometimes supported upon a deep system of bracketing, corbelled out from the feet of the main pillars. Within this raised gallery, which is sheltered by the over-sailing

eaves, there is, in the larger temples, a columned loggia passing round the two sides and the front of the building, or, in some cases, placed on the façade only. The ceilings of the loggias are generally sloping, with richly carved roof timbers showing below at intervals; and quaintly carved braces connect the outer pillars with the main posts of the building. Some temples are to be seen in which the ceiling of the loggia is boarded flat and decorated with huge paintings of dragons in black and gold. The intercolumniation is regulated by a standard of about six or seven feet, . . . and the general result of the treatment [of columns, wall posts, etc.] is that the whole mural space, not filled in with doors or windows, is divided into regular oblong panels, which sometimes receive plaster, sometimes boarding, and sometimes rich framework and carving or painted panels. Diagonal bracing or strutting is nowhere to be found, and in many cases mortises and other joints are such as to very materially weaken the timbers at their points of connection. In my opinion it is only the immense weight of the roofs and their heavy projections which prevents a collapse of some of these structures in high winds. The principal façade of the temple is filled in one, two, or three compartments with hinged doors, variously ornamented and folding outwards, sometimes in double folds. From these doorways, generally left open, the interior light is principally obtained, windows, as we generally understand the term, being rare. In some of the more important buildings, however, a method is followed of filling in the chief compartments of the front and sides with large movable latticed shutters in two halves, the upper half being hinged at the top so that it can be raised and attached on the outside to metal rods hung from the eaves. . . . A striking peculiarity of all Japanese buildings is that direct light from the sky is rarely

obtained, owing to the lowness of the openings and the great projection of the eaves. . . . An elaborate cornice of wooden bracketing crowns the wall, forming one of the principal ornaments of the building. The bracketing is arranged in groups placed immediately over the pillars and at certain intermediate intervals, the intervening spaces being variously decorated. . . . The whole disposition of pillars, posts, brackets, and rafters is harmonically arranged according to some measure of the standard of length. . . . A very important feature of the façade is the portico or porch-way, which covers the principal steps and is generally formed by producing the central portion of the main roof over the steps and supporting such projection upon isolated wooden pillars braced together near the top with horizontal ties, curved, moulded, and otherwise fantastically decorated. Above these ties are the cornice brackets and beams, corresponding in general design to the cornice of the walls, and the intermediate space is filled with open carvings of dragons or other characteristic forms. . . .

The forms of roof are various, but mostly they commence in a steep slope at the top, gradually flattening towards the eaves so as to produce a slightly concave appearance, this concavity being rendered more emphatic by the tilt which is given to the eaves at the four corners. . . . The appearance of the ends of the roofs is half hip, half gable. Heavy ribs of tile-cresting with large terminals are carried along the ridge, hip, and along the slope of the gable. The result of the whole is very picturesque, and has the advantage of looking equally satisfactory from any point of view. . . .

The interior arrangement of wall columns, horizontal beams, and cornice bracketing corresponds with that on the outside. . . . The ceiling is invariably boarded,

and subdivided by ribs into small rectangular coffers; sometimes painting is introduced into these panels, and lacquer and metal clasps added to the ribs. When the temple is of very large dimensions, an interior peristyle of pillars is introduced to assist in supporting the roof, and in such cases each pillar carries profuse bracketing corresponding to that of the cornice. The construction of the framework of the Japanese roof is such that the weights all act vertically; there is no thrust on the outer walls, and every available point of the interior is used as a means of support. . . . The floor is partly boarded and partly matted. The shrines, altars, and oblatory tables are placed at the back in the centre, and there are often other secondary shrines at the sides. Drums and bronze gongs are among the furniture which is always to be found in these temples. In those of the best class the floors of the gallery and of the central portion of the main building from entrance to altar are richly lacquered; in those of inferior class they are merely polished by continual rubbing.

These details, if somewhat technical, are thoroughly useful guides to the principal features of temple architecture in Japan. The mausolea are differently planned. They consist of three buildings *en suite:* an oratory, flanked on both sides by an antechamber; an interval room, and a sanctuary. There are two enclosures, the outer surrounded by a belt of cloisters, and the general scheme of decoration is on a much more elaborate and magnificent scale than that of the temples. These mausolea belong properly to a later epoch, that of Yedo, and are to be seen in

perfection at Shiba in Tōkyō and at Nikkō, where the bodies of the Tokugawa *Shōguns* are interred. They are mentioned here, however, in order to avoid needless division. It may truly be said of them that they display Japanese decorative art in its most profuse and splendid stage.

The oldest form of architectural decoration in Japan was mural painting. It is seen in the temple *Hōryu-ji*, the walls of which are covered with nobly executed paintings of Buddhist subjects, traditionally ascribed to a sculptor of Chinese origin and to a Korean priest. Tradition may be right in this instance, but it is a curious fact that no mural decoration of even approximate quality is to be seen in any part of China or Korea. It is also noteworthy that although mural painting continued to be a feature of temple decoration from the seventh century through all ages, the artists never chose essentially religious motives — unless the figures of *Ten-nin*, or angels, may be so regarded — for the adornment of sacred edifices subsequent to *Hōryu-ji*. Their favourite subjects were mythical animals and birds — the Dog of Fo, the Kylin, and the Phœnix, — or flowers, especially the lotus and the peony, and they generally chose a gold ground. Broadly speaking, the decoration may be divided into monochromatic and polychromatic. The former obeys the *Shintô* canons. It is seen in temples constructed of pure white,

knotless pine, having elaborately chiselled and embossed metal (gilt brass) caps, sockets, and bands applied to the ends of projecting timbers, to the joints of pillars and beams, to the corners of frames (door and panel), and to the bases and necks of posts. The effect is well described by Mr. Conder as "an appearance of pale, ashen grey touched up richly with gold." In the monochromatic class may also be included structures coloured outside with vermilion red, harmonising beautifully with the green woods in which the temple stands. The polychromatic class includes the great majority of the temples and nearly all the mausolea. Externally, the colour commences "with the lintels or ties near the top of the posts or pillars. From this height the different beams and brackets, together with the flat spaces and raised carvings between, are diapered, arabesqued and variously picked out in bright colours and gilding. Such treatment imparts a light elegance to the otherwise ponderous eaves of Japanese temple buildings, and the deep sun-shadows beneath the massive projections assist in subduing and harmonising the bold contrast of colour employed. The decorator uses fearlessly the greatest variety of colours in juxtaposition, but generally separates adjoining tints by means of a white or gold line" (Conder). Internally, the scheme may be broadly described as mural paintings on a gold ground; carved panels, solid or pierced, the carving heavily gilt and

sometimes picked out with various colours; coffered ceilings with coved cornices, the coffer of the ceiling and the carved panels of the coving filled with decorations in colour or in gold lacquer, pillars with decoration of embroidered drapery, and beams, brackets, etc. coloured much on the same principle as the external members. Occasionally the ceiling is not coffered, but presents a flat surface carrying a large painting of angels, dragons, phœnixes, or Dogs of Fo. A celebrated example of this treatment is to be seen at Nanzen-ji in Kyōtō, where a ceiling, sixteen hundred square feet in area, carries a painting of a colossal dragon in black and gold.

It would be quite useless, of course, to attempt any detailed description of Japanese temple decoration in these volumes. A special work elaborately illustrated would be necessary. The general effect is at once gorgeous and delicate, lacking, however, in massiveness and grandeur. Apart from the main structure there are several objects of beauty and interest: the sepulchres of the mausolea; the gateways, which Japanese architects have made an object of extraordinary study; the font-sheds, with their basins of bronze or granite;[1] the belfries; the exquisitely toned bells they contain; the pillar-lanterns of stone or bronze; the sculptured images that flank the gates; and the pagodas.[2] The charm of the whole is greatly

[1] See Appendix, note 14.

[2] See Appendix, note 15.

enhanced by the features of the surrounding landscape and the skilfully planned approaches, which are matters of no less importance in the eyes of the Japanese designer than the structure itself and its decoration.

Chapter III

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE MILITARY EPOCH (Continued)

TURNING to the costumes of the era, we find conservatism and change side by side. One of the vagaries of fashion was a rule that the skirt of an official's upper garment should be long in proportion to his rank. In the middle of the thirteenth century it was considered *de rigueur* that a minister of State should have an eight-foot train ; a senior councillor, seven feet ; a junior councillor, six feet ; and so on down to officials lower than the fourth grade who had to content themselves with four feet. At the zenith of this fashion a prime minister might be seen dragging after him a train twelve feet long and managing it with grace and address acquired by arduous practice. Military men, however, did not obey this monstrous custom, prototype of the modern Occidental Drawing-room. The Court nobles and civil officials enjoyed a monopoly of it, — the men who, deeming themselves best attired when they resembled women most closely, shaved their eyebrows,

painted their cheeks, and blackened their teeth to achieve the likeness.

It was in this period that the habit of shaving the crown of the head came into vogue. The statement does not apply to persons adopting the priesthood and receiving the tonsure as a mark of their retirement from secular life, but to the people at large. Court nobles and civil officials, however, did not in this epoch adopt the crown-shaving habit. They wore their hair long, and gathered it in a bunch with the ends evenly clipped, — the "tea-switch style," as they called it, because of its resemblance to the bamboo mixer used for stirring the powdered-tea beverage. This queue was bound with a strand of twisted paper, the colour of the paper being determined by the rank of the wearer. The *Shōgun* wore a vermilion strand; nobles and officials entitled to enter the audience hall in the Palace, employed purple, and officials not possessing that privilege, white. It was the military men that inaugurated the custom of shaving the crown, not for the sake of appearance, but because the weight and heat of the helmet suggested removal of the hair. At first they confined themselves to thinning the hair over the temples and tasselling the portion of it that remained. Next they shaved the crown, and, when not in armour, wore false hair arranged so as to hang in short locks over the forehead. Then, finally, the bald crown came to be an honoured mark of the soldier, and was

frankly exposed, the back hair being tied in a queue, and brought forward so as to divide the crown equally. This style afterwards came into universal vogue, soldier and civilian, prince and peasant alike affecting it. Connected with this is a superstition characteristic of the age. A belief had prevailed from time immemorial that if a man bathed on a particular day in the year, without reciting an incantation to certain demons, he would lose all his hair. The inauspicious day being called *gesshiki* in the almanac, the soldier gave that name to a wooden instrument used for thinning his locks.

Beards and mustaches were grown freely, being regarded as manly embellishments. To be without a good provision of hair on the face gave a soldier much concern. He lamented over himself as a "defective being" or a "female man;" and there is on record a case of a *samurai* of Odawara who so bitterly resented a joking allusion to his beardlessness, that he fell, sword in hand, upon the joker, and both perished. Side-whiskers were much affected, because the demon-slayer Shōki had always been artistically represented with such ornaments, which consequently had the honour of being called *Shōki-hige*. A chin-beard alone, however, was condemned as imparting a craven aspect. Great veneration attached to a long white beard. Its fortunate possessor enjoyed the privilege of being placed socially above every one else, and was desig-

nated *Shira-hige Miyo-jin*, or the "white-bearded deity." A not less esteemed adornment was a battle-scar. In the middle of the sixteenth century the great captain Hōjō Ujiyasu was reputed to have slain thirty strong warriors with his own blade. He had seven sword wounds on his body and one on his face, and from that time a "fine-deed scar" on the visage went by the name of an "Ujiyasu slash."

Staining the teeth black, a habit hitherto confined to Court nobles and officials residing in Kyōtō, was universally adopted by the soldier class after it had been carried from the Imperial city to the military capital (Kamakura) by the Hōjō family. A man with white teeth was derided, and heads taken in battle counted for little unless they had black teeth.

Women continued to wear their hair long, as in the Heian epoch. They added artificial hair if nature had not been kind to them. When a lady of rank walked abroad, her long tresses were gathered into a box which an attendant carried, following behind; and when she seated herself, it was the attendant's duty to spread the hair symmetrically on the ground like a skirt. A lady lacking an attendant festooned her hair over the right shoulder, using paper to tie up the ends. Sometimes a woman "banged" her hair in a triplet of loops; and girls in their teens had a pretty fashion of wearing it in three clearly distinguished lengths, — a short fringe over the forehead, two

cascades falling below the shoulders, and a long lock behind. Labouring women adopted a much simpler style. They bound the head with a gracefully folded cloth, gathering and knotting the hair under this kerchief. The process of enveloping the head in such a fashion was developed into a high art. In a moment a woman could convert the little square of cotton cloth that she carried by way of a towel, into a *coiffure* of the daintiest and jauntiest description. Professionals, as physicians, dancers, singers, and actors, razed the head completely, after the manner of Buddhist friars.

Speaking broadly, the costumes of the people now began to approximate to the style represented in the *genre* pictures of the seventeenth century. Women of the upper classes continued to wear loose trousers, but in the dress of the lower classes, and in the toilet of unmarried girls, skirted robes made their appearance. The girdle (*obi*) of later days, an essentially characteristic feature of Japanese costume as the Occident knows it, had not yet come into use. Ladies, indoors, tied a narrow belt of silk round the waist, knotting it in front and treating it essentially as a mere fastener. Above it they wore a long, flowing robe, reaching from the neck to the heels, with voluminous sleeves. This robe, in the case of aristocratic dames, was of magnificent quality, sometimes of rich brocade, sometimes of elaborately embroidered silk or satin.

Towards the close of the sixteenth century girls began to tie several plies of silk cord round the waist, knotting it in graceful loops behind, and letting the ends hang low. This was the *obi* in embryo. Not until comparatively recent times, however, did aristocratic ladies overcome their objection to converting the girdle into a conspicuous article of apparel. In fact, up to the end of the Military epoch, namely, the close of the sixteenth century, the girdle gave no earnest of the wealth of care and taste ultimately lavished on it.

Perhaps the most noteworthy innovation of the epoch was the *kami-shimo* ("upper and lower"); a very simple costume, consisting of an upper garment without sleeves or plaits — a kind of square-shouldered waistcoat — and a lower in the form of straight-legged, vertically plaited trousers, having a broad waistband attached. The end of the *kami* was confined within the waistband of the *shimo*, and the two, worn above the ordinary costume, produced a marked effect of decorous stiffness and primness. They ultimately became the costume of ceremony for all men of the official and military classes. When Japan was re-opened to foreign intercourse in the nineteenth century, the *kami-shimo* with its pointed shoulders and divided-skirt trousers, seemed to be in almost universal use, and the aspect that its wearers presented was not unlike that of a butterfly with extended wings and an abnormally long body.

Head-gear took various forms, — some quaint and ungraceful, some simple and pretty. Women, when they went abroad, wore a large hat like an inverted bowl; and when they rode on horseback they suspended from the rim of this hat a curtain from three to four feet long, or threw over the crown drapery that reached to the shoulders on either side and to the elbows behind. A much more picturesque fashion was to draw the outer garment, hoodlike, over the head, leaving the face alone exposed. A hood independent of the garment was also worn, and in cold weather, or when concealment was desirable, this hood could be made to envelop the face so that the eyes only remained visible. Men, too, adopted this fashion at times. In the streets of Kyōtō there might also be observed girls wearing pyramidal caps about eighteen inches high, looking like large spirals of horizontally twisted linen. These were the Phrynes of the time. The official head-gear for men continued to be a black-lacquered cap, bound on the top of the head — which it made no pretence of fitting — and shaped like a legless and armless easy-chair with or without a jug-handle excrescence pendent to the shoulders behind. Another less ceremonious and commoner shape resembled a small cone with its base elongated behind; and the most aristocratic form of all, that worn by the *Shōgun* himself, may be compared to an Occidental gentleman's "bell-topper," elongated, deprived

of its rim, and reduced in circumference so as not to fit the head, but merely to be poised on the middle of it.

In the beginning of this epoch artisans of all classes wore head-gear shaped like an overgrown nightcap, but they subsequently discarded this in favour of the cone-shaped hat mentioned above.

None of these head-dresses could be honestly called coverings, except, perhaps, the artisan's nightcap gear. They were as little adapted to the shape or size of the wearer's cranium as are some of the curious structures that young ladies in modern Europe pin to their hair.

As to the materials used for habiliments, they varied from the richest Chinese brocade to the coarsest home-spun. A white damasked silk robe with dark-red sleeves, purple lining, and a design of purple badges, woven or dyed, was a specially aristocratic costume; but, as a general rule, only persons of exalted rank were permitted to wear brocade unless they received it as a gift from the *Shōgun's* Court. The use of pure silk also was forbidden outside the Courts of the Emperor and the *Shōgun*, and purple lining shared the veto; but such interdicts, though frequently issued, never commanded much obedience.

Characteristic of the epoch was the use of family badges for decorative designs. A gentleman or lady might often be seen wearing a garment with large badges conspicuously blazoned

on the sleeves, the back, and the shoulders. It is a curious fact that costumes brocaded with gold or silver were popularly called "passara style," an expression obviously derived from the language of some country westward of China.

Again and again legislative attempts were made to check luxurious tendencies in matters of dress, the gist of these enactments being to limit the use of pure silk to lining purposes. The *Taikō* extended official restrictions as far as foot-gear. Even his great power failed, however, to make these rules effective. His order that trousers and stockings must not be lined, and that sandals must be of plaited straw, not leather, was observed in Kyōtō and Osaka, but did not carry much weight in fiefs remote from the capital.

Leather socks had been in use from the twelfth century, women using them as well as men. The common leather sock was brown in colour, but those worn by great folk were blue, and had decorative designs — which ultimately took the shape of family badges — embroidered in white thread. To this latter kind the name "brocaded sock" was given, the brown variety being called "authorised leather" (*gomen kawa*), since ordinary people might not use it without official permission. Women wore leggings when they went on a journey, and it may be said that the costume of females in these days was much more practical than that of their successors in the Yedo epoch.

The badges here spoken of began to be devised and used during the wars of the Taira and the Minamoto, according to tradition, but they probably existed at an earlier epoch. Their original purpose was to distinguish ally from enemy, and by degrees the habit of blazoning them on garments became almost universal among the military class. A sixteen-petalled chrysanthemum and a bunch of Paulownia leaves and buds were the Imperial badges, and their employment was interdicted to all subjects. When and under what circumstances the chrysanthemum and the Paulownia began to be regarded as Imperial badges, there has not been any successful attempt to determine. So far as is known, the chrysanthemum appeared for the first time upon the hilt of a sword belonging to the Emperor Gotoba (1186–1198), and it certainly became the Imperial badge from that time. No other object occupies an equally important place in Japanese decorative art. It is used independently, or as a member of more or less elaborate designs, with remarkable ingenuity and effect. But as to Japan's title to have invented this graceful decorative motive, it is to be observed that on an early gold ornament from Camirus now in the British Museum — an ornament dating from an era many centuries before Christ — the chrysanthemum enters the decorative scheme in precisely the form given to it by Japanese artists, the number of petals alone being different. From Rhodes

to Kyōtō is a long distance, yet it is extremely difficult to deny a common origin to two forms so exactly similar.

Many of the badges of mediæval Japan were designed to recall incidents in the history of the family or individual carrying them. Thus a badge in the form of a cross saltere was adopted by a warrior who found that by wiping his sword-blade again and again on the knee of his trousers during a battle, two blood-stains in the shape of a cross were produced. Another badge, consisting of two wood-doves and a bunch of mistletoe, commemorated the fact that Yoritomo, hiding from his enemies in the hollow trunk of a tree, would have been discovered had not two doves, flying out of the trunk as the pursuers were about to search it, convinced them that no one could be concealed there. Yet another — a circle and two bars — represented a cup and a pair of chopsticks, and recalled the fact that a famished soldier recovered his strength by eating the rice laid before a sacred shrine. Numerous legends are thus connected with the cognisances of great families, but many badges, on the other hand, were the inventions of purely decorative fancy. Indeed the Japanese badge was originally nothing more than an ornamental design, and the term applied to it (*mon*) has primarily that meaning. Afterwards it derived importance from its usefulness as an aid to identification, and soldiers blazoned it on their banners, on the front

of the helmet, and on the breastplate. Every person of any social status had his badge, and noble families had three, — one principal and two alternatives, — smaller folk being content with two and the ordinary *samurai* with one. A general or a feudal chief sometimes conferred on a subordinate, in recognition of meritorious conduct, a surcoat having the donor's badge woven or embroidered on it, and the recipient was entitled to wear the garment as long as it was wearable, but not to adopt the badge permanently. Yet badges were not necessarily a mark of aristocracy in Japan. Merchants and manufacturers might have them woven or dyed on a garment, being careful only that the dimensions of the device should be unostentatious compared with the large badges, sometimes three or four inches in diameter, blazoned on the costumes of nobles and high officials. Even that restriction disappeared in time, and from the seventeenth century common mechanics might be seen wearing tunics with badges that stretched across the whole space between the shoulders behind. Just as in Europe a crest or a coat of arms is put upon carriages, household utensils and ornaments, so the Japanese applied these badges not only to their garments but also to their equipages, their dining apparatus, the gates of their residences, their tombstones, the tiles of their roofs, and the metal ornaments on the beams of their houses. The only place from which the badge had to be

banished was a wedding robe or a mourning garment. It may be here noticed that an ingenious attempt was recently made to prove that several Japanese badges have for their chief motive the Christian Cross, being thus a relic of the brief era during which the foreign faith found powerful converts in Japan prior to its virtual extinction in the early part of the seventeenth century. It is difficult to imagine that badges having such an affinity could have continued to be openly worn in an age when even the cross of St. George displayed on the flag of an English ship precluded her admission to a Japanese port.

Family badges are among the few creations of aristocratic custom that were not systematised by the Japanese and brought within the purview of an exact code of regulations. It was necessary, indeed, that among the retainers of every noble household there should be some possessing an intimate acquaintance with the cognisances of all great personages, so that when the retinues of two dignitaries met *en route*, there should be no hesitation in exchanging the courtesies appropriate to their relative ranks. But no such thing as a service of heraldry existed.

To conclude this reference to the costumes of the Military epoch, it remains to note that the year was divided into three periods with respect to changes of garments, — winter (September 1st to March 31st),[1] when *Kosode* was worn; that is

[1] See Appendix, note 16.

to say, a robe having a thick layer of silk wadding between the stuff and the lining; spring (April 1st to May 5th), when the *Awase*, a lined garment without wadding, went into wear; and summer (May 5th to August 31st), when the *Katabira*, an unlined robe, was orthodox. This rule never varied in subsequent ages.

Women in the Military epoch wore absolutely no hair ornaments. The fashion in this respect bore no resemblance whatever to that of subsequent eras. In the matter of shaving the eyebrows and substituting two little black dots high upon the forehead, as also in that of staining the teeth black, the rule of former times continued to be faithfully observed by girls out of their teens.

Braziers are now found in common use, and towards the middle of the fifteenth century they were supplemented by a contrivance which, though very simple in conception, added greatly to the comfort of the people. A brazier is evidently useless for warming the feet, especially in the case of persons who habitually sit upon the ground. Better suited for that purpose is even the sunken hearth of aristocratic houses in previous eras and of the lower middle classes in all eras. But the brazier, when once introduced, quickly became an ornament as well as an article of furniture. Manufactured of brass or bronze, handsomely *repoussé* and chiselled, or taking the form of a metal receptacle inserted in a case of

finely grained or richly lacquered wood, it soon obtained recognition as the only heating apparatus adapted to refined life, the sunken hearth being banished to the kitchen and the tea-chamber. It was then that some one invented the *kotatsu*, a brazier which, being covered by a latticed wooden frame, could be placed under a quilt drawn over the knees, thus constituting a mechanically excellent though very insanitary method of heating the lower part of the body.

Pine torches continued to be the chief means of obtaining light at aristocratic receptions and weddings, but on ordinary excursions they began to be replaced by lanterns consisting of a candle set inside a skeleton frame covered with an envelope of thin white paper. In the fifteenth century a kind of basket lantern was devised which could be folded up when not in use. About the same time candles began to be made of greatly improved tallow, and a species of match was invented in the form of a piece of thin wood tipped with sulphur. These changes carried the Japanese far towards the limits of the improvements made by them in lighting apparatus prior to the resumption of Occidental intercourse in the nineteenth century. The basket lantern, indeed, gradually gave place to a delicate structure decorated so prettily and variously that Japanese lanterns ultimately became famous and were chosen by all civilised nations as specially suited for illuminations where

spectacular effect is important. But the folding principle invented in the fifteenth century was never bettered.

With regard to diet, dwellers in the Imperial capital continued to be influenced by Buddhist vetoes against the taking of life, but did not carry their piety beyond refraining from the flesh of four-footed animals and certain birds. As for the military men at Kamakura and in the provinces, no prejudice of that kind disturbed them. They ate everything eatable, except the flesh of oxen and horses. Deer, wild boar, bear, badger, hare, wild fowl, larks, pheasant, snipe, quails, thrushes, and other field birds furnished their table, and they laughed at the citizens of Kyōtō who believed that the misfortunes of the Emperor Go-Murakami (1319–1368) had been due to his neglect of the Buddhist commandment. All kinds of fish, many varieties of sea-weed, twenty-five vegetables, twenty-one fruits, and some eight or nine flavourings constituted their staples of diet, apart from rice, barley, and millet. That universally serviceable and most profitable condiment of the Japanese kitchen, soy (*shōyu*), a mixture of calcined barley-meal and a special kind of beans, yeast, water, and salt, had not yet been invented. Its place was taken by the greatly inferior but much cheaper *miso*, a sauce made of wheat, beans, and salt.

But although his list of edibles was large, the military man nominally contented himself with

two meals a day. His chief food was, of course, rice, everything else being regarded as a relish, and his normal allowance of the grain was a pint and a half daily. This he simply boiled in a pot or cauldron, instead of resorting to the more aristocratic method of steaming it in a covered jar. In the intervals between his morning and evening meals, he regaled himself, if his resources permitted, with vermicelli, macaroni, bean-jelly, rice-dumplings, and various kinds of cakes and fruits, washed down by tea or hot water scented with pickled cherry-buds.

There is no special change to be noted in the manner of serving meals or in the utensils employed, except that the use of tables in Chinese style went altogether out of fashion, and the viands were ranged upon a tray standing about four inches high, which was placed upon the ground. Every diner had his own set of trays, one for each course or class of viands. The greatest refinement of manufacture marked the various apparatus, the cups, bowls, and trays being of rich lacquer, and the wine-pourers of silver or gold. This description does not apply to the case of commoners, of course. They had utensils of plain black or red lacquer and wine-holders of unglazed pottery. From the fifteenth century China sent over vessels of porcelain decorated with blue *sous couverte*, or of stoneware covered with *céladon* glaze. At an even earlier date she had supplied objects of the same class though techni-

cally inferior, but they were beyond the reach of any save the wealthiest people. In the sixteenth century Japan began to manufacture porcelain for herself, but nearly a hundred years elapsed before it became the rival of lacquer for table utensils. It is worth noting that in the Palace as well as in the mansions of noblemen and the barracks of soldiers, the most approved kind of wine-cup was a shallow bowl of unglazed red pottery, which was never used more than once by those that could afford such extravagance.

In spite of the nominally frugal habits of the military class, Kyōtō continued its career of luxury, especially from the days of the celebrated Ashikaga *Shōgun*, Yorimitsu (1368–1394). The date of this ruler's accession to power corresponds with that of the establishment of the Ming dynasty in China, and relations of exceptional intimacy were established between the two Empires, Japan recovering her old-time respect for the civilisation of her neighbour. But Yorimitsu imitated the extravagant sybaritism of the later Yuan Mongols rather than the austere self-denial of the early Ming sovereigns. Of him and of his fifth successor, Yoshimasa (1449–1472), it must be said that they squandered the State's resources on excesses of every kind, but it must also be said that their æsthetic impulses and munificent patronage of art conferred permanent benefit on their country.

Perhaps the truest explanation of Yoshimasa's

unparalleled devotion to art in every form, his building of the Silver Pavilion, his intimate association with great painters, his elaboration of the tea ceremonial, his extension of the incense cult, his love of landscape gardening, and his passion for objects of virtu, is to say that he responded to the remarkable movement taking place contemporaneously in China. He became *Shōgun* fifteen years after the conclusion of the *Shun-tieh* era (1426–1436), which, together with the previous era of Yung-lo (1403–1425), must be regarded as one of the greatest epochs of Chinese art, — an epoch when the manufacture of porcelain first became a really skilled achievement, and when the grand painters, Lü Ki, Liu Tsun, Bien Kingchao, and Liu Liang rivalled the renown of the immortal Sung masters. Japan would certainly have felt that remarkable movement, even though she had not been ruled by a man so singularly receptive of art influence as Yoshimasa; but the coincidence that her affairs happened to be administered by such a magnificent dilettante just at the moment when her neighbour was entering a brilliant period of art achievement, which lasted, almost without interruption, for nearly four centuries, undoubtedly helped to push her towards her destiny of æsthetic greatness. Her painters did not, it is true, immediately adopt the brilliant colouring and delicate finish of the *Ming* masters; they preferred the broad, bold style of the *Sung* artists. But had

not their attention been directed to China by the general impulse of art development that followed the accession of the *Ming* monarchs, it is not improbable that they would never have evolved the great academy of landscape painters which numbered Sesshiu, Shiubun, Oguri Sotan, Soga Jasoku, and Kano Motonobu. This is not the place to speak of such matters in detail; the broad fact alone need be noted that for all the disorder and unrest by which the Military epoch was marked, it saw the birth of a great art movement under the Ashikaga *Shōgun*, and the rapid development of the movement under the *Taikō*. The latter it was whose practical genius did most to popularise art. Although his early training and the occupations of his life until a late period were of a nature to suppress, rather than to educate, æsthetic tastes, he devoted to the cause of art a considerable portion of the sovereign power that his grand gifts as a military leader and a politician had brought him. Not only did he bestow munificent allowances on skilled artists and art artisans, but he also conferred on them distinctions which proved stronger incentives than any pecuniary remuneration, and when he built his celebrated palace — the Castle of Pleasure — at Fushimi, so vast was the sum that he lavished on its decorations, and such a certain passport to his favour did artistic merit prove, that the little town of Fushimi quickly became the art capital of the Empire, and the residence of all the most skilful

painters, lacquerers, metal-workers, and wood-carvers within the "Four Seas." Historians speak with profound regret of the dismantling and destruction of this splendid edifice after the death of the *Taikō's* adopted heir; but it is more than probable that the permanent possession of even such a magnificent monument of applied art could not have benefited the country nearly so much as did its destruction. For the immediate result was an exodus of all the experts who, settling at Fushimi, had become famous for the sake of their work in connection with the "Castle of Pleasure." They scattered among the fiefs of the most powerful provincial nobles, who received them hospitably and granted them liberal revenues. From that time, namely, the close of the sixteenth century, there sprang up an inter-fief rivalry of artistic production which materially promoted the development of every branch of art and encouraged refinement of life and manners.

This reference to the history of art in the context of the kitchen may seem discursive. But it is necessary to note the general spread of æsthetic influences and tastes during the Military epoch in order to understand how even the once austere soldier class were swept into the circle of luxurious living.

From the days of Yoshimasa cooking became a science. It had its two academies, the Shijo and the Okusa, each professing to be the sole repository of essential arcana which were trans-

mitted from generation to generation. Here, again, just as in the ceremonials of tea-drinking and incense-burning, there is found an elaborate code of rules, prescribing not only the dimensions and shapes of every implement and utensil, but also the precise manner of manipulating each instrument in preparing different viands, and the mode of serving, marshalling and decorating the dishes. The vocabulary of the science is curiously abundant, probably even more so than the nomenclature of the French cuisine, and superstition is invoked to prevent combinations of viands considered contrary to natural canons. Thus, if wild-boar and leveret were served together, or pheasant and badger, or salmon and tunny-fish, or *sazae* (*Tsubo cornutus*) and dried cod, the eater might look forward to some grievous calamity within a hundred days. Another regulation prescribed that when fish and flesh formed part of the same dinner, the products of hill and garden should be marshalled on the left, those of sea and river on the right. Nearly every dish had its appropriate dressing leaves, and these were placed face upward at feasts of congratulation and face downward on occasions of mourning.

Elaborate enactments extended to the etiquette of eating and drinking as well as to the science of cooking. Wine had to be drunk to the limit of three cups, or five cups, or seven cups, or three times three cups ; and even the mode of

drinking had its conventionalities, three sips, five sips, the "nightingale style," the "dew-drop style," and so on. Pouring out wine was also a test of polite accomplishments. Again, in eating rice, the perfect gentleman or lady put into the mouth a chopsticks' measure on the right, a chopsticks' measure on the left, a chopsticks' measure in the centre, and masticated them all three together. In consuming the viands placed before him, a man had to follow the order of hill, sea, river, field, and garden. In taking soup, he was required to eat some of the fish, meat, or vegetable it contained, before drinking any of the liquid. In using chopsticks, the manner of manipulating them had its rules, and so also had many other parts of the procedure which need not be detailed. With regard to the position of the body, a man sat upon one heel, keeping one knee raised until the first tray of viands was placed before him, when he sat on both heels; and an attendant had to conclude his approach and commence his retirement kneeling on both knees, raising one, however, when he poured out wine or performed any other service. For ladies the code was even more rigorous. Above all they were expected to make no sound whatever in eating or drinking, — a veto that had no force in the case of a man, he being entitled to drink his soup or wine or ladle in his rice noisily, and even to mark his sense of abundance by sounds shocking to polite ears in the Occident.

Ladies further employed in naming dishes a vocabulary entirely different from that used by man.

It is plain, even from the outlines sketched here and elsewhere, that to be a master or mistress of polite accomplishments in Japan during the Military epoch, to understand the flower-arranging art, the tea and the incense cults (which will be spoken of presently), the etiquette of the table, the principles of poetical composition, and the elaborate dance movements, required long and industrious study.

There was no noteworthy change in great people's manner of going abroad, as compared with the Heian epoch. They still used six kinds of ox-carriage and four kinds of palanquin. The palanquin, which was in effect a light ox-carriage with the wheels removed and the shafts carried to the same length behind as in front, found, in this time, more favour than the ox-carriage. It received great modification at the hands of Yoshimasa, the prince of dilettanti. He substituted a single pole for the two shafts, and suspended the vehicle from the pole instead of supporting it on the shafts. Thus was obtained the *kago*, which played much the same part in old Japan as the *jinrikisha* does to-day. The *kago* held one person. Two men carried it, resting the pole on their shoulders, and trained bearers thought nothing of walking thirty miles a day, thus loaded.

A nobleman's going abroad in state continued to be a business of great pomp and elaborate organisation. It reached its zenith of grandeur in the days of the Ashikaga *Shōguns*. Court nobles and high officials deemed it an honour to take part in the procession that attended such magnates as Yoshimitsu or Yoshimasa, and were particularly flattered if the duty fell to them of carrying the *Shōgun's* shoes, or acting as his train-bearer. This progress was called *o-nari* — "the honourable becoming." The *Shōgun* rode in an ox-carriage or palanquin, accompanied, in the former case, by an ox-driver and an ox-feeder. The animal was always a noble specimen of its kind, jet black and groomed so that it shone like velvet. The caparisons were scarlet, purple, and white, and the carriage glowed with golden lacquer and delicately tinted hangings. Before and behind and on either side marched a crowd of guards, bearers of swords and lances, attendants, "miscellaneous folks," carriers of waterproof coats, umbrellas, and so on. Officers of rank carried the *Shōgun's* sword and his foot-gear, and one person, the bearer of an article more necessary than euphonious, went by the polite name of "morning and evening" (*chōseki*). When such a procession, or even that of a lesser magnate, passed through the streets, all the citizens were required to kneel with the hands placed on the ground and the head resting on them, and the shutters of upper windows giving

on the street had to be closed lest any one should "look down" on the great man. To pass across the ranks of the procession or in any way to interrupt its progress, exposed the offender to instant death under the swords of the guards.

Even an ordinary gentleman when he rode abroad was followed by at least one attendant on foot. He always carried his own bow and quiver, and sometimes his two swords also, but it was a common practice to entrust the long sword to the attendant, who bore it at the "carry." When there were two attendants, one shouldered a lance, the other a spare bow; and when a gentleman went on foot, one attendant marched behind carrying his master's long sword. The common *samurai*, of course, had no attendant. An exact code of etiquette guided the behaviour of processions passing each other, as well as of gentlemen meeting a procession, and any departure from the provisions of this code was regarded as a grave offence.

The military class constituted an immense standing army supported at the public charges. It was an exceptionally costly army, for the families of the *samurai* had to be maintained as well as the *samurai* themselves, and the officers, that is to say, the feudal nobles and their chief vassals, enjoyed revenues far in excess of any emoluments ever granted elsewhere on account of military service. It is now necessary to consider whence funds were obtained to meet this great outlay.

The system of taxation adopted in Japan in early times and the changes it underwent from age to age are interesting, not merely from a historical point of view, but also and chiefly as furnishing an index of the people's capacity to bear fiscal burdens. It is a somewhat obscure subject, though not so difficult to understand as the confusing attempts hitherto made to elucidate it would imply.

Land measure seems to have been based at the outset on a very practical consideration. The area required to grow sufficient rice for an adult male's daily consumption — in other words, a man's ration — was taken as the unit. A square whose side measured two paces, or six feet, being considered the area adequate for that purpose, received the name of *ho*, afterwards changed to *tsubo*. This unit of superficial measure remains unchanged until the present day. There being three hundred and sixty days in the year according to the old calendar — twelve months of thirty days each — a space measuring three hundred and sixty *tsubo*, and producing a year's rations, naturally suggested itself as another fundamental area, the term *tan* being applied to it. For the rest, the decimal system was adopted: one-tenth of a *tan* being called *se*, and ten *tan* a *chō*.[1]

Thus far as to superficial measurement. The next question is the grain grown on a given

[1] See Appendix, note 17.

area. The basis in this case was the quantity of rice (on the stalk) that could be grasped in one hand. This was called *nigiri*. Three handfuls made a bundle (*ha*), twelve bundles a sheaf (*soku*), and fifty sheaves were regarded as the produce of the *tan*. In the earliest references to taxation, the "sheaf" is invariably mentioned. The unit of capacity was a wooden box (called *masu*) capable of holding exactly one-tenth of the grain obtained from a sheaf; that is to say, the hulled grain.[1] Naturally a more definite system ultimately replaced these empirical methods. At the close of the sixteenth century, under the administration of the Taikō, the measure of capacity was exactly fixed, and its volume was called *tō;* ten *tō* (i. e. a sheaf of grain) being called a *koku* (3.13 bushels), while one-tenth of a *tō* received the name of *shō*, and one-tenth of a *shō* that of *gō*. There were wooden measures having the capacity of a *shō* and a *gō* as well as that of a *tō*.[2]

The oldest historical record of land taxation shows that the tax levied on each *tan* of land, in the seventh century, was a sheaf and a half of hulled rice, and since the average produce of the *tan* was twenty-five sheaves, this represented only six per cent of the yield. Thenceforth the tendency was steadily in the direction of increase. In the middle of the ninth century land was divided into four grades for fiscal purposes; the

[1] See Appendix, note 18. [2] See Appendix, note 19.

levy on the first grade being five sheaves per *tan* (hulled grain must always be understood); that on the second, four sheaves; that on the third, three sheaves, and that on the fourth, one and a half sheaves. This was called a tax of one-fifth or twenty per cent, the produce of the best land being then estimated at twenty-five sheaves. In fact, the tax was nearly three and a half times greater in the reign of the Emperor Saga (810–823) than it had been in that of the Emperor Kotoku (645–654). In the twelfth century the tax had become twenty-five per cent, and there was a further levy of ten per cent of the remaining grain, one-third of this extra impost being destined for the support of the governors in the provinces. Hence, at that time, the total grain tax on the land was thirty-two and a half per cent of the gross produce, the central government taking thirty per cent and the local government two and a half per cent.

It is not to be inferred that grain crops alone were taxed, other produce escaping. In addition to the levy of grain, people had to pay *chōbutsu* (prepared articles); as silk fabrics, pongee, and cotton cloth.[1] These were assessed at the rate of one piece of silk fabric, three pieces of pongee, and four pieces of cotton cloth per *chō* of land (the piece in every case being ten feet long and two and a half feet wide). Each of these imposts represented a monetary value of from thirty

[1] See Appendix, note 20.

to forty *momme*.[1] There was also a house-tax (*kobetsu*) which took the form of a twelve-foot piece of cotton cloth per house, or six pieces of ten feet per *chō* of land; and, finally, the farmer had to pay "subordinate produce" (*fuku-sanbutsu*) to the value of thirty *momme* per *chō*. All these imposts of "prepared articles" aggregated about one hundred and eighty *momme*, or three *ryō* per *chō*, and since the price of hulled rice was two and a half *koku* per *ryō* and the grain tax was six and a half *koku* per *chō*, it would seem that the total imposts levied on each *chō* of land were fourteen *koku*. The average produce of rice per *chō* was reckoned in those days at twenty *koku*, and it thus appears that seventy per cent of the produce was taken by the tax-collector. The people were further required to provide weapons of war, and had to perform forced labour. The saying current in that era — from the close of the tenth century to the middle of the twelfth — was that the Government took seven-tenths of the produce of the land and left to the people only three-tenths.

It has to be remembered in this context that, in addition to the taxes enumerated above, every male between the ages of twenty-one and sixty-six was liable for thirty days' forced labour annually, and every minor for fifteen days; which *corvée* could be commuted by paying three pieces of cotton cloth, equivalent in value to about a *koku* of rice.

[1] See Appendix, note 21.

When Yoritomo, the Minamoto chieftain, made Kamakura the administrative capital of the Empire, he adopted the policy of lightening the people's burdens, but he did not succeed in reducing them to fifty per cent of the produce of the land, though it appears to have been the principle of his fiscal system that one-half of the yield of the soil should go to the ruler and one-half to the ruled. Yasutoki (1225–1242), the second of the Hōjō Vicegerents, a man of great governing acumen, not only lowered the taxes to fifty per cent of the produce, but also amended the law of forced labour. Another of the Hōjō chiefs, Tokiyori (1246–1263), pursued this policy still more resolutely. He enacted that the produce of the best land should be estimated at two *koku* per *tan*, and that it should be equally divided between the farmer and the Government. A *tan* of fertile land really yielded two and a half *koku*. Hence Tokiyori's system gave one and a half *koku* to the farmer and one to the Government, and the tax, though nominally fifty per cent, was in reality only forty per cent. Tokiyori was the first to introduce this method of lightening the taxes by underestimating the producing power of the land. It was in his time, also, that the monetary value of five *koku* of unhulled rice was fixed at one thousand copper cash, and a plot of land assessed to yield ten *koku* and therefore paying five *koku*, received the name of *ik-kwan-mon no kiuhun* (a " thousand-cash-paying area").

When the Ashikaga family obtained the administrative power, its representative, Takauji (1338–1356), reverted to the methods of Yoritomo, his ancestor. But his sway did not extend effectively to more than seven-tenths of the Empire. A few years later, the *Shōgun* Yoshimitsu, most celebrated of the Ashikaga rulers, following the advice of a wise Minister, reduced the tax definitely to the ratio of four parts to the ruler and six to the ruled. But Yoshimasa (1449–1472), the most luxurious of Japanese rulers, unable to defray the extravagant expenditures of his court with the proceeds of such an impost, greatly raised the rate. His methods, however, were so capricious and irregular that it seems impossible to determine exactly what his levy was.

In addition to these regular taxes the Government of mediæval Japan had recourse to the expedient of forced loans, issuing duly signed bonds to the lenders. Sometimes these bonds constituted merely nominal security, but in general they were redeemed wholly or in part. The great territorial magnates resorted constantly to this device, so that the strong-rooms of most of the leading merchants contained documentary evidence of large sums lent by them to their feudal rulers at merely nominal rates of interest. Ordinary borrowers, on the other hand, had to pay a very high price for accommodation, and since the interest was compounded and added to the principal at short intervals, the foreclosure of

mortgages and the distraining of property were constant sources of embarrassment and distress. In times of adversity, when it seemed that the burden of debts had become excessive, or that they had been contracted under the pressure of want resulting from natural calamities, the Government sometimes adopted the course of proclaiming the cancellation of all obligations in existence at a certain date. Naturally this false policy had ultimately the effect of accentuating the distress it was intended to relieve, for by greatly increasing the risks of the lender, it compelled him to make his terms proportionately severe. Nevertheless, since the original motive of the measure was a benevolent desire to free the poor from the obligations they had contracted to the rich, and to prevent the accumulation of large wealth in the hands of individuals, it was called *toku-sei*, or the "virtuous system." Yoshimasa, the Ashikaga *Shōgun* spoken of above, abused the *toku-sei* in an extraordinary manner. Having resorted to forced loans from the well-to-do citizens of Kyōtō as often as eight times in a month, whereas the limit previously had been four times in a year, and having thus issued an inconvenient number of bonds, he freed himself from all these obligations by proclaiming the *toku-sei*, not once, but several times. In his case it was evidently robbery, pure and simple, but his ministers solemnly adhered to the pretence of aiding the poor and disseminating wealth. The practice of such

customs renders it difficult to arrive at any precise estimate of the sums levied from the people in feudal Japan.

Hideyoshi, the *Taikō*, showed himself such a consummate statesman that one naturally looks for a reduction of taxation among his administrative measures. The opposite is the truth. He fixed the ratio of the landlord's share to that of the farmer at two to one, or, as the men of his time expressed it, the Government took seven parts and left only three to the people. He also altered the measure of the *tan* by changing the number of *tsubo* from three hundred and sixty to three hundred, — a step which has frequently been condemned as an arbitrary device for increasing the burden of taxation, though in reality it had no such effect. Had the nominal yield of the *tan* for purposes of taxation been assessed at the same figure for the *tan* of three hundred *tsubo* as for the *tan* of three hundred and sixty *tsubo*, there would have been good ground for complaint, but since the taxable yield was diminished in the same ratio as the area, the farmer suffered no hardship on that account. His genuine grievance consisted in having to pay into the treasury nearly seventy per cent of his farm's produce. The *Taikō* further had recourse to forced labour unsparingly. The great works that he caused to be constructed — the castles at Osaka and Fushimi — required the employment of thousands of workmen, and his example induced many of the provincial magnates

to undertake similar tasks, so that the close of the sixteenth century saw the nation much distressed. Another act which added to the weight of taxation was the issue of an order for re-surveying all the land throughout the Empire, the surveyors being required to use a pole exactly six feet (one *ken*) in length, whereas the pole previously in use had varied from six feet three inches to six feet five inches. It is supposed that these additional inches were intended to be a space for the grasp of the measuring official, but evidently they opened the door to many abuses. A *tan* measured with a six-foot five-inch pole is sixteen per cent larger than a *tan* measured with a six-foot pole, and the taxable measure of produce being the same in either case, no little importance attached to the nature of the pole employed. The result of the *Taikō's* fiscal enactments and his re-surveys was that the nominal yield of rice throughout the Empire increased from eighteen and three-fourths million *koku* to twenty-six and a fourth millions, — a figure only twelve millions less than the crop of the present time. The exemptions fixed by him partook of the same severity. In ancient days the land tax had been remitted if the crop fell to fifty per cent of the annual average yield. Hideyoshi did not sanction remission until the yield fell to one-twentieth of the average. A saving feature of his legislation in the eyes of the people was that he put an end to the exemption from taxation hitherto enjoyed by the Court nobles and the military

class, and required all grades to pay at the same rate. Another abuse corrected by him was the habit of the tax-collectors to add an arbitrary quantity as their own perquisite, calling it an allowance for loss in transit. Hideyoshi limited this to two per cent of the legal tax. The extent to which this form of extortion had been carried previously is not easy to conjecture, but it is not surprising to find that the farmers often sought to conceal or falsify the amount of the yield, and that bribery was extensively employed to influence the tax-collector's returns. Farmers often preferred to abandon their holdings and remove to some other fief where the officials were less exacting, but the law dealt with them severely if they attempted to escape in that manner, and dealt severely also with any one harbouring or concealing them. In such cases the method of "comprehensive punishment" was resorted to; that is to say, not only the offender but his relatives, friends, and neighbours were all included in the circle of responsibility.

Under the Tokugawa administration, the rate of tax fixed by law was four-tenths of the gross yield, and that figure may be taken as representing an approximation to the impost actually levied throughout the period commencing with the establishment of the Yedo Government at the close of the sixteenth century and ending with the abolition of feudalism at the beginning of the Meiji era (1867). It is only an approximation, however,

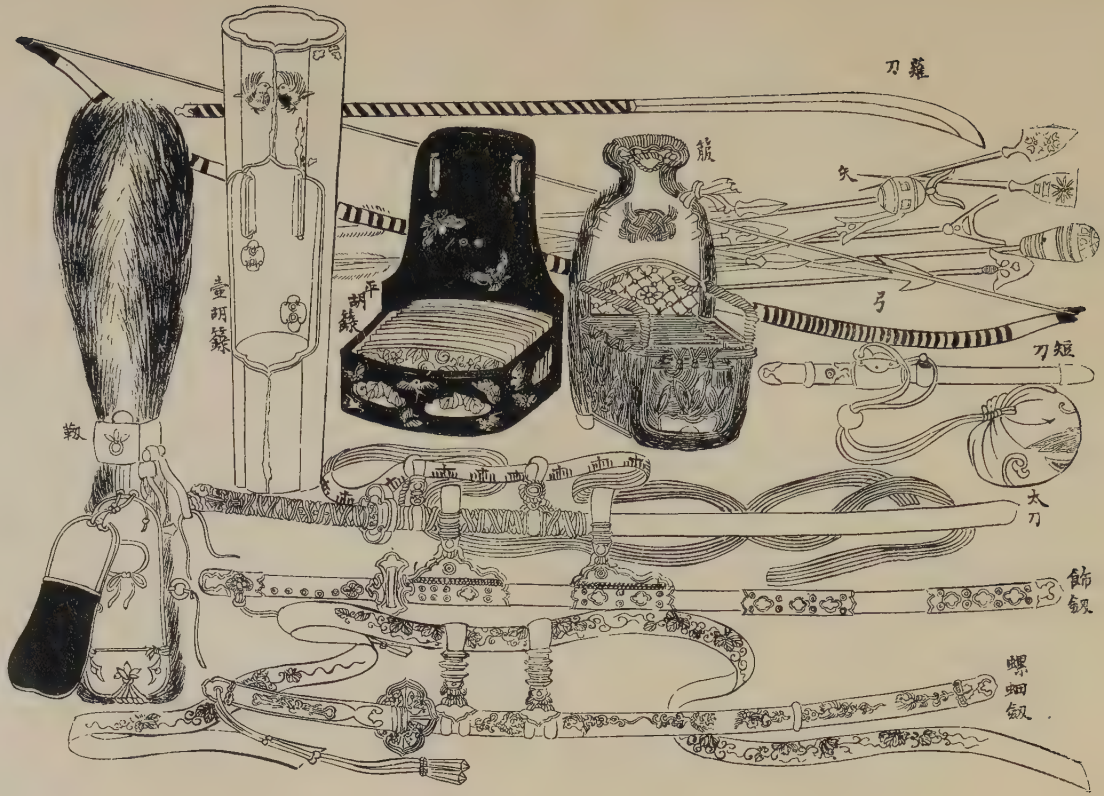
for the various fiefs always enjoyed a measure of fiscal independence, and many of them regulated their system of taxation without regard to the edicts of Yedo or to its example. There cannot be much error, however, in asserting that the average rate of taxation was certainly not less than four-tenths of the gross produce, — four to the landlord, six to the tenant.

Chapter IV

WEAPONS AND OPERATIONS OF WAR DURING THE MILITARY EPOCH

THE bow was always the chief weapon of the fighting man in Japan. "War" and "bow and arrow" (*yumi-ya*) are synonyms. Men spoke of Hachiman, the God of Battles, as *Yumi-ya no Hachiman;* the left hand received the name of *yunde* (*yumi-no-te*, or bow-hand), by which it is still commonly designated, and the general term for "soldier" was "bow-holder."

It is possible that a strain of romance runs through the traditions relating to the use of this weapon by the Japanese of old; but that fine skill was acquired, there can be no question. The first archer of national renown was Yoshiiye, whose fifth descendant, Yoritomo, founded the system of military feudalism and made Kamakura the administrative capital of the Empire. Yoshiiye's strategical abilities, displayed in a campaign against the autochthons of the north, won for him the title of *Hachiman Taro* (eldest son of the God of War). Such virtue resided in his bow, according to the belief of the men of his day, that



WEAPONS OF WAR, TWELFTH CENTURY.

the Emperor Shirakawa (1073–1086), by laying it beside his pillow, obtained respite from tormenting dreams. The Minamoto clan, of which Yoshiiye was the first great representative, gave Japan her most skilled archers. Tametomo, uncle of the founder of Kamakura, drew a bow so strong that in the *Hogen* conflict (1156), when two brothers advanced to attack him, he shot an arrow which passed through the body of the elder and afterward wounded the younger severely. Concerning the skill of this renowned archer a story has been handed down which may be called the parallel of the William Tell legend. Fighting under his father's banner, and finding himself opposed to his elder brother, Yoshitomo, he announced his intention of shooting a shaft which, without injuring Yoshitomo, would recall him to his father's cause. A comrade urged him to desist, lest he should err in his aim and wound his brother, but he ridiculed such an accident as impossible. Yoshitomo was standing near the gate of a beleaguered stronghold. The arrow pierced the crest of his helmet and buried itself in the portal of the gate. Tametomo being afterwards taken prisoner, his captors, thinking to end his exploits with the bow, extracted one of the sinews of his right arm and exiled him to the island O-Shima. But the cruel act, though it impaired his strength, enabled him ultimately to shoot a longer arrow, and it is related that in his last fight he sunk a boat with a single shaft.

In estimating the credibility of this feat, it must be remembered that the bow of Japan was from six to eight feet long, and that the arrow measured from eleven to seventeen "fists," that is to say, from three to four feet.[1] Some of the bows must have been very powerful. Their strength was measured by the number of ordinary men required to string them, as a "one-man-power bow," a "three-man-power bow," and even a "ten-man-power bow." Originally the weapon was of unvarnished box-wood or selkowa, but subsequently bamboo alone came to be employed, being covered with lacquer as a preservative. Binding with cord or rattan served to strengthen the bow, and for precision of flight the arrow had three feathers, an eagle's wing — the "true bird's pinion" (matori-ba) — being most esteemed for that purpose, and after it in order the wing of the copper pheasant, of the crane, of the adjutant, or of the snipe. The feathers were sometimes dyed, and skilled archers carved their names on a shaft to enlighten their foes. The iron arrow-head took various shapes: simply pointed for penetration; or barbed; or razor-forked, for striking the foe in the neck and cutting off his head, a feat said to have been actually accomplished.

These details make it easier to credit the recorded achievements of the Japanese bowman. When the first iron shield was brought from Korea in the reign of the Emperor Nintoku

[1] See Appendix, note 22.

(313–399), a Japanese warrior, Tatebito, pierced it with an arrow. The Koreans did homage to him, and the Emperor conferred on him the name *Ikuba* (target). Passing from strength of bow to skill in archery, the Japanese preserve in perpetual recollection a challenge given by the Taira to the Minamoto in the last battle of the Red and White Flags. The Taira men placed a beautiful lady standing in the bow of one of their boats and suspended a sacred fan over her head, challenging the Minamoto to shoot at it. Nasu no Munetaka, forcing his horse girth-deep into the water, sent a shaft that struck the stem of the wind-swayed fan and cut it free. It is told also of Asamura, a bowman in the troops of Yoritsune (1239), that a pet bird having escaped from a cage, he shot a small arrow which winged it without inflicting any serious injury. Exploits of that kind were counted special tests of skill. In the days of the Emperor Toba (1108–1123) an osprey visited the Palace-lake daily and carried off a fish. The Emperor asked whether none of his archers could stay the bird's depredations without violating, within the Imperial precincts, the Buddhist law against taking life. Mutsuru, using an arrow with a forked head, cut off the osprey's feet as it was rising from the lake with a fish in its talons. The fish dropped into the water and the bird continued its flight. An incident of the same nature particularly characteristic of the era, occurred when Nitta Yoshi-

sada's forces confronted the army of Ashikaga Takauji at Hyōgo, just before the fight that shattered the Imperialists. Shigeuji, one of Yoshisada's captains, shot an osprey through the wing as it soared with a fish in its claws, so that the bird fell alive into the Ashikaga camp. A cry of applause rose from both armies, and Takauji shouted an inquiry as to the archer's name. "I send it to you," replied Shigeuji, stringing an arrow on which his name was inscribed and discharging it at one of the enemy's watch-towers, three hundred and sixty paces distant. The shaft pierced the tower and wounded a soldier within.

As a final illustration of the power of the Japanese bow, a feat may be mentioned which had much vogue from the twelfth century until recent times. In Kyōtō there is a temple called the "hall of the thirty-three-pillar spans" (sanjusan-gen-do). On its west front is a veranda one hundred and twenty-eight yards long and sixteen feet high. Evidently to shoot an arrow the whole length of this corridor where so little elevation can be given to the shaft, requires a bow of great strength, to say nothing of truth of flight. In 1686 Wada Daihachi succeeded in sending 8,133 arrows from end to end of the corridor between sunset and sunset, an average of about five shafts per minute during twenty-four consecutive hours. The feat sounds incredible, but it was nearly equalled at a later date by Tsuruta Masatoki, an archer in the train of the feudal

chief of Sakai. The scene of Masatoki's exploit was the Sanjusan-gen-do in Yedo, for in the Fukugawa suburb of the latter city a hall had been erected on exactly the same lines as those of the Kyōtō building, its sole purpose being archery. It was the custom to commence these trials of skill and endurance at sunset, and to continue the shooting all through the night by torchlight until an appointed hour on the following day. Masatoki fired the first shaft at seven P. M. on the 19th of May, 1852, and the last at three P. M. on the 20th. During that interval of twenty hours he discharged 10,050 arrows, and 5,383 flew true down the one hundred and twenty-eight yards of corridor. He discharged nine shafts per minute, approximately, and more than half of them were successful. Possibly it is not inaccurate to conclude that the Japanese of the Military epoch, if not the greatest archers in the world, were certainly second to none.

In three essential respects their method of shooting differed from that of Occidental bowmen. Instead of raising the point of the arrow in sighting, they lowered it, and instead of hooking the three first fingers round the string, they held it between the bent thumb and the index finger, a grasp which greatly facilitated smoothness of release. Finally, they discharged the arrow from the right side of the bow. The bow-arm remained slightly bent, even at the moment of release, so that no guard for the fore-arm

was required, but the right gauntlet had slight padding to save the string-finger. The quiver, slung on the back, held from sixteen to thirty-six arrows, and the shafts were drawn from it over the left shoulder.

To complete this sketch it should be added that the bowman's art, as practised by the *bushi* (warrior), was of two general kinds, equestrian archery and foot archery, and of each there were three varieties. In equestrian archery the varieties were, shooting at three diamond-shaped targets set up at equal intervals in a row; shooting at a rush-woven hat placed on a post; and shooting with padded arrows at a dog. The costumes worn at each of these three exercises differed slightly, but the difference counted for much in a society austerely obedient to etiquette. It was necessary that the shafts should be discharged while the horse was in swift motion, but no inference of great skill may be drawn from that fact, for the Japanese pony was invariably trained to trot "disunited" without "breaking," and the motion being thus free from jolting, a rider experienced little difficulty in standing steadily in the capacious shoe-shaped stirrups while drawing his bow. Altogether this shooting at a fixed target, whether diamond-shaped or in the form of a hat, was reduced to a mechanical performance, the range being very short, the course invariable, the size of the enclosure uniform, and the horse perfectly trained, — a kind of social

pageant, indeed, rather than a genuine military exercise. When dogs became the targets, skill of a more genuine type was required. This kind of archery had its origin in the hunting of wild cattle on the moors, but ultimately dogs were substituted, a hundred or fifty being let loose in an arena of fixed dimensions, where they were pursued by thirty-six archers on horseback. Here again the dominant idea was sport and spectacular effect. For really earnest archery it is necessary to turn to the unmounted bowman, but his method of practice need not be described further than to say that his favourite targets were a suspended ball, a stag made of grass, or strips of paper hanging from a stick.

In very ancient times the bow was supplemented by the sling, and in the ninth century a catapult came into use. But these implements never had wide vogue. A fire arrow was occasionally employed. Japanese soldiers used it in their Korean campaign in the sixth century, and after the introduction of fire-arms it was discharged from a barrel by means of gunpowder.

Sometimes, but very rarely, stone-throwing occupied the soldier's attention. Kiheiji, nicknamed *Hatchō Tsubute* (the eight-hundred-yard thrower), a follower of the great archer Tametomo, became famous for skill of that kind, but it is noteworthy that the Japanese were never infected by the passion of their neighbours, the Koreans, for stone-throwing as a mode of fighting.

The sword has come to be regarded as essentially the weapon of the *bushi*, but in the early centuries it does not seem to have occupied as important a place for fighting purposes as the bow. The sacred sword which formed one of the three regalia of Japan, was a straight, two-edged weapon (*tsurugi*), but the distinctive Japanese sword, the well-known *katana*, is a single-edged blade, remarkable for its three exactly similar curves — edge, face-line, and back — its almost imperceptibly convexed cutting edge, its fine tempering, its incomparable sharpening, its beautiful and highly skilled forging, and its cunning distribution of weight, giving a maximum effect of stroke. If the Japanese had never produced anything but this sword, they would still deserve to be credited with a remarkable faculty for detecting the subtle causes of practical effects, and translating them with delicate accuracy into obdurate material. The tenth century saw this unequalled weapon carried to completion, and some have inferred that only from that era did the *bushi* begin to esteem his sword the greatest treasure he possessed, and to rely on it as his best instrument of attack and defence. But it is evident that the evolution of such a blade must have been due to an urgent and long-existing demand. The *katana* came in the sequel of innumerable efforts on the part of the sword-smith and generous encouragement on that of the soldier. Many pages of Japanese

annals and household traditions are associated with its use. When in the West fencing is spoken of, men understand that they are referring to an art the principles of which have been reduced almost to an exact science. It has been proved possible to compile written accounts containing not only an intelligible but also an exhaustive account of all the methods and positions recognised by European masters of the rapier, — the attack, the parade, the opposition, the tierce, the prime, the quarte, and so on. But it was never admitted in Japan that the possibilities of *katana* fencing had been exhausted. In every age numbers of men devoted their whole lives to acquiring novel skill in swordmanship. Many of them invented systems of their own, which received special names and differed from one another in some subtle details unknown to any save the master himself and his favourite pupils. Not merely the method of handling the weapon had to be studied. Associated with sword-play was an art variously known as *shinobi*, *yawara*, and *jiujutsu*, names which imply the exertion of muscular force in such a manner as to produce a maximum effect with a minimum of apparent or real effort by directing an adversary's strength so as to render it auxiliary to one's own. The mere fact that gymnastics should be made an adjunct of fencing shows how greatly the methods of swordmanship in Japan differed from those in Europe. Whether in

rapier practice or in broadsword play, as these things are understood in the Occident, it is difficult to conceive a fencer resorting to devices learned by studying the flight of a swallow, or the somersaults of a cat, or the leaping of a monkey. Upon such models, however, the Japanese expert often fashioned his style, and it was an essential element of his art not only that he should be competent to defend himself with any object that happened to be within reach, but also that without an orthodox weapon he should be capable of inflicting fatal injury on an assailant, or, at any rate, of disabling him. In the many records of great swordsmen that Japanese annals contain, instances are related of men seizing a piece of firewood, a brazier-iron, or a druggist's pestle as a weapon of offence, while, on the other side, an umbrella, an iron fan, or even a pot-lid served for protection. The iron fan, especially, was a favourite weapon with renowned experts. It owed its origin to a cruel trick by which two or three brave soldiers had been victimised. A *bushi* visiting a man whose enmity he did not suspect, and kneeling beyond the threshold of the apartment to make his bow, found his head caught in a vice, the sliding doors having been thrust suddenly against his neck from either side. By way of protection against treachery of that kind, an iron fan was clasped in the two hands upon which the visitor bowed his head, so that the ends of the fan pro-

jected a little beyond the forehead on either side. There are several instances of victories won with a "war-fan" against a naked sword, and many examples of men killed by a blow from it. The *bushi* had to be prepared for every emergency. Were he caught weapon-less by a number of assailants, his art of *yawara* was supposed to supply him with expedients for emerging unscathed. Nothing counted but the issue. The methods of gaining victory or the circumstances attending defeat were scarcely taken into consideration. The true *bushi* had to rise superior to all contingencies. Out of this perpetual effort on the part of hundreds of experts to discover and perfect novel developments of swordsmanship, there grew a habit which held its vogue down to modern times; namely, that when a man had mastered one style of sword-play in the school of a teacher, he set himself to study all others, and for that purpose undertook a tour throughout the provinces, fencing whenever he found an expert, and in the event of defeat, constituting himself the victor's pupil. For the true *bushi* was expected to accept defeat as simply an evidence of his own inferiority, not at all as an event to be resented or avenged. Of course this rule of self-restraint did not obtain universal observance. Occasionally there were men who resorted to any villany in order to compass the destruction of a vanquisher. It is true that defeat often meant ruin. A fencing-master with

a well-attended school and a substantial income from the lord of a fief, might find himself discredited for carrying on the former and deprived of the latter, in the sequel of an encounter with some itinerant expert. But that was not considered any excuse for showing resentment towards his conqueror.

On the other hand, the law did not give itself any concern to punish lapses from the code of true manliness. Again and again crimes were perpetrated which in the West would be designated wilful and brutal murder. Yet the family or relatives of the victim seldom or never thought of invoking public justice upon the perpetrator. His punishment was undertaken by the nearest of kin to the murdered man. He became the object of a vendetta, and a wonderful measure of untiring patience and fierce resolve was often shown in hunting him down. The records teem with instances of men who spent long years tracking the assassin of a father or a brother from fief to fief and province to province, and wreaking vengeance on him eventually, sometimes by means as surreptitious as those he had himself employed to perpetrate his crime, but generally in fair combat. The principle of the vendetta had been inculcated by the teaching of Confucius. That philosopher laid down a rule that no man should live under the same sky with the slayer of his father. Apter disciples of such a creed could scarcely have been found than the Japanese. Even

women undertook the duty of vengeance if there were no men in their family to discharge it. It was a duty that had the sanction of custom ranking as law. A *bushi* need only solicit the permission of his feudal chief to constitute himself an avenger of blood. He could count almost certainly on obtaining sanction, and thenceforth the consummation of his purpose was secure against official interruption or punishment. It frequently happened that having discovered his foe, he made application to the chief of the fief where the latter served to authorise a public duel, and in such a case lists were duly chosen, soldiers appointed to guard them, and all precautions adopted to secure fair play. The life of a nation governed by such customs could not fail to abound with strange and vivid episodes.

Japanese fencing, numerous as are the styles professed and practised by different schools, is altogether of the broad-sword type. As a rule, not invariable, however, the sword is grasped with both hands, the point upward and the hilt about three-quarters of an arm's-length from the body. The cuts are almost entirely downward or horizontal, the only upward cut employed being directed at the lower part of the adversary's fore-arm, and the only point a rapid lunge at the throat. Two swords are often used. Sometimes they are crossed, and in that position they occasionally pin an opponent's blade, creating a situation of great danger for him at the moment of

release. Sometimes the left hand holds one sword in the position of the hanging guard, and the right manipulates the other on the offensive. The effect of a stroke does not depend altogether upon the momentum imparted to it, but owes much of its efficacy to a swift drawing motion given to the blade as it begins to bite.

There has naturally been much discussion as to the relative value of the Japanese and the European styles of fencing, but one thing is quite clear, namely, that a Japanese swordsman could not protect himself successfully against a skilfully wielded rapier. On the other hand, it would be very difficult to check the onset of a Japanese swordsman by means of a rapier. He would probably accomplish his cut, in spite of his adversary's parry or point. Sixteen varieties of cut are delivered with the Japanese sword, and each has its own name, as the "four-sides cut," the "clearer," the "wheel stroke," the "peak blow," the "torso severer," the "pear splitter," the "thunder stroke," the "scarf sweep," and so on; appellations rather fanciful than descriptive, but, of course, conveying an exact meaning to Japanese ears.

The sword has exercised a potent influence on the life of the Japanese nation. The distinction of wearing it, the rights that it conferred, the deeds wrought with it, the fame attaching to special skill in its use, the superstitions connected with it, the incredible value set upon a fine blade,

the honours bestowed on an expert sword-smith, the household traditions that have grown up about celebrated weapons, the profound study needed to be a competent judge of a sword's qualities,—all these things conspired to give to the *katana* an importance beyond the limits of ordinary conception. Sword-smiths whose names have been handed down from generation to generation since the seventh century, when the art of forging became a great accomplishment, number thousands,[1] and such was the credit attaching to skill that even an Emperor — Go-toba (1186 A. D.) — thought sword-making an occupation worthy of a sovereign. Already in the days of the Emperor Ichijo (987–1011), three thousand blades were recognised as fine, thirty of them as excellent, and four as superlative. Not until the time of the *Taikō* (sixteenth century), however, did any one acquire universal repute as an infallible judge, competent to identify the work of any of the great masters by examination of the blade alone, without looking at the name chiselled on the tang. Reliance could not, indeed, be placed on the name, since for every genuine blade by a great master, there existed scores of imitations, perfect in every detail that an ordinary eye could detect, including the simulated maker's name and mark. What was involved in identifying a blade may be inferred from that fact, and becomes still more apparent when it is noted that authoritative lists

[1] See Appendix, note 23.

compiled in the seventeenth century to show the forgers classed as experts, contained 3,269 names. To distinguish between the products of such a multitude of masters must have required natural gifts of a high order, and though throughout the Military epoch,— that is to say, from the twelfth century to the end of the sixteenth,— the sword and everything pertaining to it were held in signal honour, the first expert whose judgment men accepted as infallible was Honami Kōsetsu, who flourished in the time of the *Taikō*. Scores had toiled along the same path before his day, but he first reached the goal, and his family's claim to have inherited his skill and the arcana of his science being conceded, the house of Honami with its twelve branches became from that time Japan's classical judges of sword-blades. Inasmuch as his sword ranked far above all his possessions in a *samurai's* esteem, there was a constant demand for keen eyes to sift the fine from the false. But even more important than the connoisseur was the sharpener. In other countries the wielder of a sword has always been expected to sharpen it himself. In Japan the sharpener was a special expert. In this art also the Honami family and its branches excelled.

The three processes of producing a blade were almost equally important,— the forging, the tempering, and the sharpening. The forging was of course the most arduous. Various ceremonies attended it. The smith had to be a man of pure

life and high morality. He approached his task with veneration, offering prayer to the gods, and using charms to exclude evil influences. Sometimes he employed steel only; sometimes steel and iron in combination. In either case the forging followed the same process. The object was to obtain a fabric consisting of an infinite number of the finest threads of metal woven into a perfectly homogeneous tissue. To that end the smith began by welding together several strips of steel so as to form a rectangular ingot, some six inches long, two inches wide, and half an inch thick. This he heated, and having cut it partially across the middle, he folded it back upon itself, and then forged it out to its original size. Having repeated this process from twelve to eighteen times, he welded several of such ingots together, and then subjected the compound mass, half a dozen times, to the same treatment that each of the component parts had received, until finally there resulted a bar composed of some millions of laminæ of steel, which was now beaten out into the shape of the intended blade. If an iron backing was required, the forger added it, either by enveloping the steel between two flanges of iron, or the iron between two flanges of steel. In this intricate process the hammer of the forger obeyed the idiosyncrasies of his style, and these were transmitted to the metal, leaving indications which to the eye of the skilled connoisseur conveyed intelligence such as one

derives in every-day life from the calligraphy of a manuscript or the brush-lines of a picture. Sometimes the forger's fashion showed itself in a manner perceptible to any observer, the fibre of the steel when it emerged from his hands, being disposed in a pattern like the grain of wood.[1] In the very finest class no iron was introduced, but three varieties of steel were combined in such a manner that they occupied in the blade the exact positions where their several qualities were most useful. After the forging followed the tempering, an art in itself; sometimes practised by nobles and princes, and once by an Emperor (Go-toba). A clayey composition — for which each master had a special recipe — was applied to the whole blade except the edge,[2] which was then heated by passing it several times through a bright charcoal fire. A certain temperature, estimated by the master's eye, having been developed, the blade — its edge alone still exposed — was plunged into water, of which also the temperature had to be exactly regulated. The polishing and sharpening were the final operations. The object here was not merely to produce a cutting edge. What had to be done was to polish the blade in two principal planes — the edge-plane and the body-plane — inclined at an angle to each other, and in a minor plane — that of the point — inclined at a different angle to the other two. That does not, perhaps, seem very complicated. But a

[1] See Appendix, note 24.

[2] See Appendix, note 25.

closer scrutiny must be made. The back of a Japanese sword is slightly curved, and the edge is not equidistant from it throughout, approaching it more closely at the point than at the hilt. Now it is essential that the edge be ground so that its rate of approach to the back shall be absolutely uniform from hilt to point-plane, and, further, that the line of intersection of the edge-plane and the back-plane shall be equidistant throughout from the back and the edge.[1] Finally, the edge-plane has to be slightly convex so that the edge may receive the fullest support from the metal above it. Considering these operations, there is no difficulty in understanding that the polishing and sharpening of a sword required weeks of labour, and that only a few experts in each generation attained perfection. By these, as well as by famous sword-smiths, high rank and large emoluments were obtainable, though it is not on record that noted forgers of sword-blades ever amassed riches. They invariably showed the trait common to all Japanese artists, contempt for money. Certain of the blades they forged were counted priceless. A masterpiece by Masamune or some other of the seventeen *Meijin* (celebrities) had a value above all estimate. But the blades of lesser craftsmen might be procured for sums varying from eighty-five gold dollars to four or five thousand. The men that could accurately identify these gems had almost as much

[1] See Appendix, note 26.

honour as their makers, and often the name of a sword-smith who had not marked his work, was fixed by a connoisseur of a later generation and inlaid in gold upon the tang.

Of course the Japanese sword had its own vocabulary. An expert speaking of its qualities, of the shape of its line of tempering, of the complexion of the metal, or the dappling of the surface, and of numerous other points perceptible to trained eyes only, used language which conveyed no meaning to the uninitiated. It was so with everything Japanese. Arts and crafts, customs and cults, placed under the microscope of centuries of loving observation, developed features sometimes full of subtle charm, sometimes almost ludicrously disproportionate to the esteem in which they were held, and the plastic language of the country made it possible to construct for all these features a terminology copious and precise to a degree almost beyond the conception of the Anglo-Saxon, the facts of whose daily doings and experiences so enormously outnumber their lexicographical representatives. Thus there are no less than twenty-two expressions — possibly more — for the different curves, sinuosities and scallopings shown by the line of tempering, though, as has been shown above, the form given to this line is purely a matter of the temperer's caprice and has nothing to do with the quality of the blade.

The sword had its superstitions. It was in-

vested with subjective qualities. As Excalibur, flashing over the mere, summoned from its depths a mystic arm, so the sword of Japan was supposed to be capable of bringing to its owner one of eight things, good fortune, revenue, wealth, virtue, longevity, reputation, sickness, and poverty. A classic of the seventeenth century denounces such theories as irrational, and substitutes for them a creed equally superstitious and more illogical. "A sword," it says, "has no responsibility. The fortunes of the owner are of his own carving. The fortunate sword will sooner or later pass out of the possession of an evil owner. Otherwise a famous blade would indeed be valueless. For if it were possible for a knave to procure wealth, dignity or renown by possessing a fine sword, the noble weapon would become the mere tool of a malefactor." Thus some form of faith in the sword's occult potency survived all the attacks of reason. Great families treasured an ancestral blade as a talisman,[1] and even furnished a vicarious demonstration of its potency by abandoning themselves on its loss to a mood of helplessness. There consequently flourished a class of experts professing the art of *kenso*, or ensiognomy (if it be permissible to coin a word). Concerning this art, the classic quoted above says: "The countenance of a blade cannot be read unless its other qualities have been determined in the main, and just as the expert should

[1] See Appendix, note 27.

not limit his examination to merely identifying the name of the maker, so the connoisseur of the countenance should not be content to consider the lucky or unlucky attributes only. The two estimates should go hand in hand. A sword being the product of the five elements, wood, fire, metal, and water, a fortunate blade cannot be forged at will, whatever guerdon be given to the sword-smith. There are good and bad men as also there are good and bad swords. If a master be virtuous, his servant will tread the path of right. If a captain be craven and incompetent, a brave soldier cannot serve under him. It is impossible for an evil-hearted man to retain possession of a famous sword." The quality of the blade reflects the character of the owner. In the age when this dictum was penned, and in previous centuries, few would have been found to dispute it, except on the ground that it underrated the sword's esoteric influences. Many men declined to use a blade decorated with Buddhist symbols; as *Namu Amida Butsu* (hear, oh! Amida Buddha), *Hachiman Dai-Bosatsu* (great Bodhisatva, God of War), various Sanscrit texts, the lotus flower, and so on. By association with a creed that forbade the taking of life, these symbols seemed unfitted to figure on a blade. On the other hand, it was contended that the sword being an instrument for preserving peace as well as for killing a foe, its connection with the re-

ligion of tranquillity was not incongruous. Either belief illustrates the mood of the soldier towards his sword. A famous blade served as a second conscience to its owner; he sought to live up to the attributes it was supposed to possess; and when a sovereign or a feudal chief bestowed on a subject or a vassal a sword that bore the name of a great maker and had been cherished through generations in the house of the donor, the gift carried with it a sacred trust and an inspiration that nerved the recipient to noble deeds. Such esoterics could not survive in the cold atmosphere of nineteenth-century criticism, but it may well be doubted whether their influence upon the Japanese did not make for good.

One interesting problem with regard to the Japanese sword seems unlikely to be definitely settled, namely, its origin. An authority whose dictum ought to carry great weight dismisses the question curtly by saying that "the swords of Japan are the highly perfected working out of a general Indo-Persian type," and Japanese historians assert that the one-edged sword, the *katana*, for which their country is famous, was forged for the first time in the seventh century by dividing the old two-edged Chinese sword, the *ken* (or *tsurugi*). Concerning the former view, it must be confessed that the alleged resemblance between a Japanese sword and all recognised types of the Persian cimeter defies ordinary ob-

servation. Concerning the latter, though it may well be that the straight two-edged sword of ancient Japan was derived from China or Korea, the theory that the single-edged blade was obtained by splitting the double-edged cannot be reconciled with archæological evidence. Certain facts pertinent to this matter are tolerably well assured. The oldest swords of Japan, the bronze blades found in primeval burial mounds, bear no resemblance whatever to the straight two-edged *ken*, but are essentially of the classical Grecian type, a close approximation to the well-known leaf shape with central ridge. In the dolmens, on the other hand, — that is to say, in the sepulchres of the Japanese during the iron age which succeeded the bronze era — none of these leaf-shaped bronze blades is found: only single-edged straight swords occur which differ from the orthodox *katana* solely in being altogether without curvature, and in sometimes having a ring cast on the end of the handle. There is strong reason to think that the two-edged *ken* came to Japan in the train of Buddhism, and if so, the sequence of facts is this: first, bronze leaf-shaped double-edged blades, which remained in use up to the third or fourth century before Christ; then a single-edged iron blade, almost identical with the modern *katana*, except that it was without curve, which continued to be the soldier's weapon up to the sixth century; then a double-edged sword, imported simultaneously with

Buddhism and invariably adopted as the Buddhist type, but never universally used throughout Japan; and finally, in the seventh century, an improved form of the iron single-edged blade which had preceded the Buddhist *ken*. According to this analysis, strictly consistent with the best evidence available, the *katana* came to Japan with the dolmen-builders, of whom we have already spoken in a previous chapter, and is therefore to be regarded as essentially the sword of the progenitors of a section of the present Japanese race.

A Japanese soldier carried at least two swords, a long and a short, or, in his own language, "a great and a small" (*dai-shō*). Their scabbards of lacquered wood were thrust into his girdle — not slung from it — and fastened in their place by cords of plaited silk. Sometimes he increased the number of weapons to three, four, or even five before going into battle, and the array was supplemented by a dagger concealed in the bosom. Only men of the military class had the right to wear two swords. A farmer or an artisan, when starting on a journey, or with special permission, might carry a short sword (*waki-zashi*), but any abuse of that exception involved severe punishment. This custom of wearing two swords is peculiar to Japan. The short sword was not employed in actual combat. Its use was to cut off an enemy's head after overthrowing him, and it also served the defeated

soldier in his last resort, suicide. In general the long sword did not measure more than three feet, including the hilt, but some were five feet long and some even seven, these huge weapons being specially affected by swashbucklers and vagabond soldiers. Considering that the scabbard, being fastened to the girdle, had no play, the feat of drawing a *nagatachi*, as the very long sword was called, demanded special aptitude; yet there were men who achieved it in a sitting posture. A Chinese historian, referring to the Japanese invasion of Korea at the close of the sixteenth century, says of the *samurai* in action that "he brandished a five-foot blade with such rapidity that nothing could be seen except a white sheen of steel, the soldier himself being altogether invisible." The unsheathing of the sword was always counted an act of extreme gravity. It signified deadly intention, and when once the blade had been exposed, to return it unused to the scabbard insulted the weapon and convicted its wearer of unsoldierlike precipitancy. Etiquette required that the long sword should be removed from the girdle before entering the apartment of a superior or a friend, but the *wakizashi* remained in its place.

The *samurai* of old Japan cannot be dissociated from his sword. He himself called it his soul. Therefore it has been spoken of here at some length. But the average foreigner takes little interest in the story of the blade or the traditions

and superstitions connected with it. For him the attractive part is the furniture of the weapon; the chiselling of the guard as well as of the adjuncts of the hilt, and the remarkable skill with which various metals are combined for the decoration of these objects. There has been no finer work of its kind in the world. The attention it attracts in Europe and America is still very inadequate. A happy description calls the furniture of the sword the jewelry of the *samurai*. He did not deck himself with rings, or studs, or chains, or gemmed buckles, or any of the gewgaws affected in other countries. But upon the mountings of his sword, and, in a lesser degree, upon the ornamentation of his armour, he lavished loving care. From the fourteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth, a great number of artists devoted themselves wholly to work of that kind, and it is a matter of lasting regret that their excellent skill was not employed to produce objects capable of appealing to a wider range of taste. This subject will be discussed in another place, but it may be noted here that if the shadow of the sword falls darkly over the life of mediæval Japan, much must be forgiven it for the sake of its strongly incentive influence upon the applied art of the nation. When the motive forces of Japanese artistic progress are catalogued, the majority are found to emanate from Buddhism, but militarism stands second on the list, and by no means a remote second. Each feudal principality was a compet-

ing centre of art influence, and the sword of every *samurai* advertised the standard that had been reached by the glyptic experts in his chief's dominions.

Spear and halberd were among the weapons of the ancient Japanese as well as sword and bow. The oldest form of spear (*hoko*) was derived from China. Its handle measured about six feet and its blade eight inches, the latter being sometimes leaf-shaped, sometimes wave-edged like a Malay kris. At the point of junction of blade and hilt a sickle-shaped horn projected on one side or on both, showing that the prime object of the weapon was to thrust back an enemy. In fact the *hoko* served almost exclusively for guarding palisades and gates. In the fourteenth century a true lance (*yari*) came into use. Its length varied greatly and it had a hog-backed blade, about five inches long, tempered so finely as almost to rival the sword in quality. This too was a Chinese type, and, like the *hoko*, its first employment did not extend beyond operations of defence, but in the latter part of the Military epoch it acquired greater importance. The halberd also came from China. The term "halberd" is a defective translation, for the Japanese *nagi-nata* (literally, long sword) was not a pole terminating in a battle-axe and spear-head as the English name implies. It was a cimeter-like blade, some three feet in length, fixed on a slightly longer haft. Originally the warlike monks alone em-

ployed this weapon, but from the twelfth century, when the Minamoto and the Taira clans began their long struggle, the *nagi-nata* found much favour among military men, its combined powers of cutting and thrusting being fully recognised. History has established the truth that the effective use of the point in sword-play is an evidence of advanced skill and superior civilisation. The Japanese bore witness to the fact by their fondness for the *nagi-nata*. Yet it never competed seriously with the single-edged *katana*, and it ultimately became the weapon of women and priests only. That, however, was not an unimportant rôle, for the priesthood wielded at one time great military power, and the wife or daughter of a *samurai* was always expected to prove her courage and martial capacity at any crisis in the career of her husband or father. In her hands the *nagi-nata* often accomplished signal deeds, and even in the present day there are few more graceful or interesting spectacles to be seen in Japan than the manipulation of this formidable weapon by a highly trained female fencer.

Not much need be said about the *bushi's* armour. Speaking broadly, it may be described as plate armour, but the essential difference between it and the Norman type was that whereas the latter took its shape from the costume of the period, the former bore no resemblance, and never was designated to bear any resemblance, to ordinary garments. Hence the only changes that

occurred in Japanese armour from generation to generation had their origin in improved methods of construction. In general appearance it differed from the panoply of all other nations. To its essential parts we may with propriety apply the European terms helmet, corselet, taches, epaulières, brassarts, cuissarts, and greaves. But individually and in combination these parts were not at all like the originals of the Occidental terms. Perhaps the easiest way to describe the difference is to say that whereas a Norman Knight seemed to be clad in a suit of metal clothes, a Japanese *bushi* looked as if he wore protective curtains. The Japanese armour was, in fact, suspended from the person rather than fitted to it. It had only one element counterparted in the European suit, namely, a tabard, which, in the case of men of rank, was made of the richest brocade. Iron or leather were the chief materials, and as the laminæ were strung together with a vast number of coloured cords — silk or leather — an appearance of considerable brilliancy was produced. Ornamentation did not stop there. Plating and inlaying with gold and silver were freely resorted to, and exquisitely finished decoration in chiselled, inlaid, and *repoussé* work was profusely applied to the helmet and its appendages, the corselet, the epaulières, and the brassarts. On the whole, however, despite the highly artistic character of its ornamentation, the loose, pendulous nature of

Japanese armour detracted greatly from its workmanlike aspect, especially when the *hōro* was added, — a curious appendage in the shape of a curtain of fine transparent silk, which was either stretched in front between the horns of the helmet and the top of the bow or worn on the shoulders and back, to turn the point of an arrow. A true *bushi* observed the strict rules of etiquette with regard even to the garments worn under his armour, and it was part of his soldierly capacity to be able to bear the great weight of the whole without any loss of activity, though the feat would be impossible to any untrained man of modern days. Common soldiers, of course, who went on foot, wore much scantier protection. A comparatively light helmet and corselet generally constituted their panoply.

The Japanese never had a war-horse worthy of the name. The little misshapen ponies which carried them to battle showed some qualities of hardiness and endurance, but were so deficient in stature and massiveness that when mounted by a man in voluminous armour, they looked painfully puny. Nothing is known of the early Japanese saddle, but at the beginning of historic times it approximated closely to the Chinese type. By and by, however, a purely Japanese shape was designed. It consisted of a wooden frame so constructed that a padded numnah could be fastened to it. Galled backs or withers were unknown with such a saddle; it fitted any horse.

The stirrup, originally a simple affair resembling that of China and Europe, afterwards took the form of a solid half shoe-sole with toe turned up. Both the stirrup and the saddle-frame were often of exquisite workmanship; covered with the richest gold lacquer (aventurine or with ornamentation in relief), or inlaid with gold, silver, or mother-of-pearl. In the latter half of the Military epoch chain armour was adopted for the horse, and his head was protected by a monster-faced mask of iron.

Flags were used in battle as well as on ceremonial occasions. Allusion has already been made to the red and white flags of the Taira and the Minamoto. There were also streamers emblazoned with various legends, or with figures of the sun, the moon, a dragon, a tiger, a hawk, a bear, and so on.[1] The Minamoto men often carried a flag with the design of a dove, since that bird was the messenger of their tutelary deity, the god of battles. A common custom, also, was to have a small flag thrust into the girdle. It would seem that the use of flags was derived from China, but the Japanese never imitated the extravagant profusion of the Chinese practice.

Fans with iron ribs were carried by commanding officers, and signals to advance or retreat were given by beating metal gongs and drums and blowing conches. During the Military epoch

[1] See Appendix, note 28.

it was considered proper that a campaign should be opened or a contest preluded by a human sacrifice to the god of war; the victim at this "rite of blood" (*chi-matsuri*) being generally a condemned criminal or a prisoner. Other preliminaries also had to be respected. Men went about the business of killing each other in an orderly and punctilious manner. Ambuscades and surprises played their part, of course, but pitched battles were the general rule, and it was *de rigueur* that an intimation of intention to attack should be given by discharging a "singing arrow." Thereafter the attacking army, taking the word from its commander-in-chief, raised a shout of "Ei! Ei!" to which the other side replied, and, all the formalities having been thus satisfied, the fight commenced.

Tactics were of the crudest description in the first part of the Military epoch, and discipline can scarcely be said to have existed at all. An army consisted of a congeries of little bands each under the orders of a chief who considered himself independent, and instead of subordinating his movements to a general plan, struck a blow however he pleased, thinking much more of his own reputation as a warrior than of the interests of the cause for which he fought. From time immemorial a romantic value has attached in Japan to the "first" of anything: the "first snow" of the winter; the "first water" drawn from the well on New Year's Day; the "first

blossom" of the spring; the "first note of the nightingale." So in war, the "first to ride up to the foe," or the "wielder of the first spear," was held in high honour, and the *bushi* strove for that distinction as his principal duty. It necessarily resulted, too, not only from the nature of the weapons employed, but also from the immense labour devoted by the true *bushi* to perfecting himself in their use, that displays of individual prowess were deemed the chief object in a battle. Some tactical formations borrowed from China were, indeed, familiar to the Japanese, but the intelligent use of these and their modification to suit the circumstances of the time belonged to the Ashikaga epoch and to the great generals of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Prior to that time a battle resembled a monster fencing match. Men fought as individuals, not as units of a tactical formation, and the engagement consisted of a number of personal duels, all in simultaneous progress. It was the *bushi's* habit to proclaim his name and titles in the presence of the enemy, sometimes adding from his own record or his father's any details that might tend to dispirit his foes. Then some one advancing to cross weapons with him, would perform the same ceremony of self-introduction, and if either found anything to upbraid in the other's antecedents or family history, he did not fail to make loud reference to it, such a device being counted efficacious as a means of disturbing the hearer's *sang-froid*. The duel-

lists could reckon on finishing their fight undisturbed, but the victor frequently had to endure the combined assault of a number of the vanquished's comrades or retainers. Of course a skilled swordsman did not necessarily seek a single combat: he was ready to ride into the thick of the foe without discrimination, and a group of common soldiers never hesitated to make a united attack upon a mounted officer when they found him disengaged. But the general feature of a battle was individual contests, and when the fighting ceased, each *bushi* proceeded to the tent[1] of the commander-in-chief and submitted for inspection the heads of those he had killed.

The disadvantages of such a mode of fighting were demonstrated for the first time when the Mongols invaded Japan in 1274. The Japanese had six years to prepare for the invasion, and they knew approximately the point at which it would impinge. What they did was to crown the heights along the shore with parapets of loose stones, and wherever the configuration of the ground did not afford the necessary elevation, they raised embankments to support the parapet. The latter varied in height from two feet to six, so as to afford shelter without impeding archery. Its trace showed no idea of flank defence, shelter being the sole object. When the flotilla of the invaders appeared, no attempt was made to oppose their landing: the moment of supreme danger

[1] See Appendix, note 29.

for an army carried over sea to the attack of a foreign country was suffered to pass unutilised. In fact, the Japanese had not even a rudimentary knowledge of the science of coast defence. The Mongols and their Korean allies stepped ashore safely, marshalled their ranks and advanced in phalanx, protecting themselves effectually with their pavises. They do not appear to have been much distressed by either the cross-bows or the ordinary bows of the defenders, but they covered their own advance with a host of archers shooting clouds of poisoned arrows. The Japanese never at any time of their history used poisoned arrows: they despised them as depraved and inhuman weapons. The Mongolian shafts harassed them terribly. Still they adhered to the prescribed etiquette. A humming arrow was shot by way of warning. The Mongols greeted it with a shout of derision. Then some of the best fighters among the Japanese advanced in their usual dignified leisurely manner and formulated the traditional challenge. But the Mongol phalanx, instead of sending out a single warrior to answer the defiance, opened their ranks, enclosed the challenger, and cut him to pieces. The invaders moved in unchanging formation, obeying signals from their commanding officer, who watched their evolutions from an eminence. The Japanese soon ceased to sacrifice themselves piecemeal. A hundred horsemen dashed simultaneously at the phalanx. Ninety-

nine were slain, and the leader alone returned alive. Finally the whole Japanese force attacked in unison, and the Mongols withdrew to their ships, covering their retreat with guns, then entirely novel to the Japanese. A storm saved the country on that occasion, and when the Mongols came again, seven years later, they met with a different reception. Although their numerical strength had enormously increased, they never succeeded in effecting a landing. The Japanese dashed at their fleet time and again, until the Mongols huddled together and assumed the defensive. The boats of the combatants differed greatly. The invaders had large, decked vessels, with very high prows, a clumsy capstan perched at the stern, and oars passing through holes in the sides. They were also provided with a kind of artillery which is said to have discharged iron balls with a thunder-like detonation, striking down scores of Japanese, breaching their flimsy parapets, and setting their watch-towers on fire. The rowers were protected by bulwarks of timber and matting, and at the prow there was an arrangement of shields over which arrows could be discharged. The Japanese, on the contrary, had very small, open boats without any protection for the rowers, who worked in a group at the stern and were cruelly exposed at the time of retreat. But the *bushi* themselves plied the oars, and in these little craft handfuls of intrepid men rushed again and again to the assault of the

enemy's fleet. In fact, the tactics of the Japanese had undergone a complete change in the interval between the two Mongol invasions. On the first occasion no attempt was made to oppose the landing of the enemy, and in the engagements that ensued on shore the Japanese frittered away their strength by pursuing the disjointed methods of fighting peculiar to their own military canons. On the second occasion, the Mongols, despite their artillery, their catapults, and their great host, never succeeded in setting foot upon land. Held at bay by a series of continuous and desperate attacks, insignificant as displays of national force, but of deadly efficacy and most harassing character, the huge flotilla found nothing better than to lie huddled together, the big ships protecting the small, and the whole incapable of offensive action. No tricks of manœuvre came into play. The Japanese simply laid boat alongside boat, and committed the rest to sword and halberd. It was a method very effective against the comparatively inexpert and clumsily equipped Mongols and Chinese, accustomed to fight in phalanx only. From the moment that a skilled Japanese swordsman or halberdier gained a footing on a ship crowded with soldiers of the kind that fought for Kublai Khan, swift carnage followed inevitably. Yet certainly the highest order of valour presided at these onsets when one or two little boats, their occupants armed with bow, hal-

berd, and sword only, rowed out to attack a fleet of fifteen hundred war-junks provided with culverins and catapults. Pictorial scrolls painted by Tosa artists of the era show some of these boats, dashing seaward on their reckless errand, and append the names of the soldiers seated in them, as well as the issue of each venture. In no case can more than ten fighting men be counted in one boat. Their wooden shields, when they carry such defences, hang over the gunwales; at the bow kneels the banner-bearer, raising aloft a long pennant, and in the stern half-a-dozen men, sometimes wearing corselets but generally without any protection whatever, bare-armed and bare-shouldered, despite the enemy's poisoned arrows, strain desperately at the oars. To their insignificant dimensions and the rapidity of their movements these boats evidently owed their frequent immunity from the balls of iron and stone discharged by the Mongol fleet. It is the only historical instance of victory's resting with sword, spear, and bow against gunpowder and bullet. It also illustrates the devoted courage as well as the versatility of the Japanese *bushi*. He appreciated that he must modify his methods, and not only abandon the old etiquette of the battle on shore, but also play the part of assailant, at any risk, in order to prevent the landing of a powerful foe.

Although the advantages of preventing an enemy from massing his strength were thus recog-

nised, the Japanese themselves did not generally obey the principle of the phalanx, though they sometimes copied its formation. Individual prowess continued to be the prominent factor in battles down to a comparatively recent period. The great captains Takeda Shingen and Uyesugi Kenshin, who flourished during the first half of the sixteenth century, are supposed to have been Japan's pioneer tacticians. They certainly appreciated the value of a formation in which the action of the individual should be subordinated to the unity of the whole. But when it is remembered that fire-arms had already been in the hands of the Japanese for many years, and that they had means of acquainting themselves with the tactics of Europe through their intercourse with the Dutch, it is remarkable that the changes attributed to Takeda and Uyesugi were not more drastic. Speaking broadly, what they did was to organise a column with the musketeers and archers in front; the spearmen, halberdiers, and swordsmen in the second line; the cavalry in the third line; the commanding officer in the rear, and the drums and standards in the centre. The spearmen were marshalled according to the length of their weapons, the long spears in front, the short in the rear. Incidentally the power of the Japanese bow is illustrated by the fact that when the range proved too great for the fire-arms of the time, the musketeers stood aside and the archers took their place. At close quarters the spears

became highly effective weapons, and in the days of Hideyoshi, the *Taikō*, combined flank and front attacks by bands of spearmen were used by that resourceful commander. The importance of a strong reserve also received recognition, and in theory, at all events, a tolerably intelligent system of tactics was adopted. But individual skill continued to dominate the situation. A master of the sword or the halberd towered so far above his less expert fellows that he refused to act in unison with them, and it was not until the middle of the seventeenth century that the doctrine of strictly disciplined action obtained practical vogue. Yamaga Soko is said to have been the successful inculcator of this principle. From his time the most approved tactical formation was known as the *Yamaga-riu* (Yamaga style), though it showed no innovation other than strict subordination of each unit to the general plan. Yamaga is now remembered rather as the military instructor of Oishi Kuranosuke, the leader of the Forty-seven Ronin, than as the founder of a new school of tactics. Perhaps the former is his better title to renown, for his military genius was never subjected to a practical test.

This subject might be dismissed by saying that, prior to the second half of the seventeenth century, the *samurai* was everything, the system nothing from a tactical point of view, and that strategy was chiefly a matter of deceptions, surprises, and ambushes. But it must not be sup-

posed that there were no "classical principles." The student of European military history searches in vain for the "rules and maxims of war," so often invoked by glib critics, but the student of Japanese history is more successful. Here, as in virtually every field of things Japanese, retrospect discovers the ubiquitous Chinaman. Sung and 'Ng (called in Japan "Son" and "Go"), Chinese generals of the third century after Christ, were the Jomini and the Hamley of their eras, and their treatises continued to be the classics of Far-Eastern captains through all generations. Yoshitsune, in the twelfth century, deceived a loving girl in order to obtain a copy of Sung's work which her father had in his possession, and Yamaga, in the seventeenth century, when he set himself to compose a book on tactics, derived his materials almost entirely from the monographs of the two Chinese generals. There is proof that these treatises came into the hands of the Japanese in the eighth century, when the celebrated Kibi no Mabi went to study civilisation in the Middle Kingdom, just as his successors of the nineteenth century went to study Occidental civilisation in Europe and America. Thenceforth "Son" and "Go" became household words among Japanese soldiers. Their volumes were to the *samurai* what the Mâhâyana Sutra was to the Buddhist. They were believed to have collected whatever of good had preceded them, and to have forecast whatever of good the

future might produce. Something of that credit they certainly deserved, for their principles are not yet out of date: "An army undertaking an offensive campaign must be twice as numerous as the enemy. A force investing a fortress should be numerically ten times the garrison. Troops for escalade should muster five for every one of their foes. When the adversary holds high ground, turn his flank; do not deliver a frontal attack. When he has a mountain or a river behind him, cut his lines of communication. If he deliberately assumes a position from which victory is his only escape, hold him there but do not molest him. If you can surround him, leave one route open for his escape.[1] Be warned of an ambush when you see birds soaring in alarm, and if animals break cover in your direction, look out for an onset. When you have to cross a river, post your advance-guard and your rear-guard at a distance from the banks and never approach with the bulk of your troops. When the enemy has to cross a river, let him get well engaged in the operation before you strike at him. If a marsh has to be traversed, make celerity your first object. Pass no copse, enter no ravine, nor approach any thicket until your scouts have explored it fully." Such precepts are multiplied, and there is much about stratagems, deceptions, and, above all, the employment of spies. But when they discuss tactical formations, these ancient authors do not

[1] See Appendix, note 30.

seem to have contemplated anything like rapid, well-ordered changes of mobile, highly trained masses of men from one formation to another, or their quick transfer from point to point of a battle-field. The basis of their tactics is the Book of Changes. Here again is encountered the superstition that underlies nearly all Chinese and Japanese institutions, — the superstition that took captive even the great mind of Confucius. The male and the female principles; the sympathetic elements; the diagrams; cosmos growing out of chaos; chaos re-absorbing cosmos — on such phantasies did they found their tactical system. The result was a phalanx of complicated organisation, difficult to manœuvre and liable to be easily thrown into confusion. Yet, when Yamaga in the seventeenth century interpreted these ancient Chinese treatises, he detected in them suggestions for a very shrewd use of the principle of echelon, and applied it to devise formations which combined much of the frontal expansion of the line with the solidity of the column. More than that cannot be claimed for Japanese military genius. The Japanese *samurai* was the best fighting unit in the Orient; probably one of the best fighting units the world ever produced. It was, perhaps, because of that excellence that his captains remained mediocre tacticians.

Chapter V

BUSHI-DŌ OR THE WAY OF THE WARRIOR

IT is usual to call Buddhism or *Shintō* the religion of Japan, but if religion be the source from which spring the motives of men's noblest actions, then the religion of Japan was neither the law of the Buddha (*Buppō*) nor the Path of the Gods (*Shin-tō*) but the Way of the Warrior (*Bushi-dō*).[1] *Shin-tō* was never more than a cult. It invited men to obey the suggestions of conscience and to leave the rest to heaven. It provided occasions for festivals which made life perceptibly brighter, and it softened the sterner aspects of Nature's phenomena by associating them with placable spirits. Buddhism, indeed, was a living faith; a faith which often stirred its propagandists to deeds of high devotion and its disciples to acts of enthusiastic self-sacrifice. Yet in all ages Buddhism sat very lightly on the Japanese people. It presented itself to them much as the New Jerusalem presented itself to the writer of the Revelation,— a pageant of picturesqueness and

[1] See Appendix, note 31.

grandeur: of chancels refulgent with gold and silver; of vestments glowing with rich colours; of majestic buildings resonant with the music of chaunted litanies; of cedar avenues and pine forests over which floated the voices of sweet-toned bells; of idols inviting artistic admiration rather than inspiring worshipful awe; of restfulness in life and of a eulogistic title and a carefully tended tomb after death. Buddhism helped to develop the soldier's creed, but never played as large a part as the latter in shaping the nation's moral history.

The earliest outlines of *Bushi-dō* are to be found in metrical behests conveyed to their families and descendants by captains of the Imperial guard in ancient times.

I

God, who, casting wide
Heav'n's blue gates, stepped down
On Takachiho's crest;
Bow and shaft in hand,
Over hill and stream
Trod, o'er crag and moor,
Heading warriors stanch,
Quelling savage folk;
Till his pillared hall
On Unebi's plain
He set up at last,
Unebi of Yamato.

Offspring of that God,
Our Imperial Lords,

In unbroken line
Stand from age to age.
To that God our sires
Service leal and true
Rendered with strong hearts,
Leaving for their sons
A mirror to all time.
Sons, the ancestral name
Lose not from your hearts;
Sons, Otomo's fame
Cherish by brave deeds.

II

In the age divine
Otomo's earliest sire,
Okomenushi hight,
Loyal service wrought.
If at sea he served,
To the waves his corpse,
If on shore he served,
To the moor his bones,
Would he gladly fling
For the sovereign's sake.
You, his sons, to whom
He bequeathed his name,
His heroic name;
Guard it by your deeds,
By your loyal deeds
Make it loved of men.
Bow and shaft in hand,
Blade and sword in belt,
Gladly hold the charge;
Guarding stand at morn,
Guarding stand at eve.

These exhortations embody the rudiments of the *bushi's* creed, faith in the divinity of the sovereign, and absolute loyalty even to the unquestioning sacrifice of life; a fine foundation for building a strong nation. How far did such sentiments permeate the people? Were they generally entertained or must they be regarded as the creed of a small section only?

It has already been shown in these pages that in the earliest times revealed by history the Japanese nation consisted entirely of soldiers. The sovereign was the commander-in-chief; the *Oomi* and *Omuraji* were his lieutenants. There was no distinction of "civil" and "military." When occasion arose, the Emperor or a prince of the blood led the army, and the duty of serving in the ranks devolved on all subjects alike, the great nobles forming a patriarchal council of Generals. But at the close of the seventh century, when the Empress Jito sat upon the throne, the social system of the Tang Dynasty of China commended itself for adoption. The civil and the military were then divided for the first time. Certain officers received commissions appointing them to special posts — as the Generals of the Left and of the Right (*Sa-konye* and *U-konye*); the Brigadiers of the Left and of the Right (*Sa-hiyoye* and *U-hiyoye*); the Captains of the Left and of the Right (*Sa-yemon* and *U-yemon*); a war-office (*hyobu-sho*) was organised, as were also Cavalry Departments of the Left

(*Sa-maryo*) and of the Right (*U-maryo*), and each important district throughout the Empire had its military division (*gundan*). All having been originally soldiers, no hereditary claim to carry arms could be set up. Physical qualifications alone received consideration. One-third of the nation's able-bodied males constituted the army, and these being divided into three equal parts, one part served in the capital as palace guards; one had its headquarters in Kiushiu, forming a legion for the protection of the southern coasts against Korean raiders, or for service abroad; and one part garrisoned the provincial posts. As to tactical formation, five men made a section; two sections, a company; five companies, a battalion; two battalions, a regiment, and ten regiments, a division. Six horses were assigned to a company, the best riders and archers being selected for cavalry duty. A division consequently consisted of six hundred mounted men and four hundred foot soldiers. Service was for a period only, and during that period taxes were remitted, so that military duties always found men ready to discharge them. Thus the hereditary soldier — afterwards known as the *samurai* or *bushi* — did not yet exist, nor was there any such thing as an exclusive right to carry arms. Weapons of war were the property of the State; stored away in times of peace, and served out periodically when required for fighting or for training purpose.

The next stage of development had its origin in the usurpation of high offices of State by great families, who encroached upon the Imperial prerogatives, and appropriated, as hereditary perquisites, posts which should have remained in the gift of the sovereign. The Fujiwara clan, taking all the civil offices, resided in the capital, whereas the military posts fell to the lot of the Taira and the Minamoto, who, settling in the provinces, and being thus required to guard the outlying districts and to quell rebellions, found it expedient to surround themselves with men who made soldiering a profession. These latter, in their turn, copying the customs of their superiors, transmitted their functions to their sons, so that there grew up in the shadow of the great houses a number of military families interested in maintaining the power and promoting the prosperity of the masters from whom they derived their own privileges and emoluments. At the close of the eighth century, stubborn insurrections on the part of the autochthons gave new importance to the soldier. The conscription list had to be greatly increased, and it came to be a recognised principle that every stalwart man should bear arms, every weakling become a bread-winner. Thus for the first time the distinction between "soldier" and "working-man"[1] received official recognition, and, in consequence of the circumstances attending the distinction, a measure of

[1] See Appendix, note 32.

contempt attached to the latter as compared with the former.

It has been shown in these pages that the continuous growth of the provincial nobles tended to deepen the above line of cleavage, so that, from the middle of the tenth century, the term *samurai* or *bushi* acquired a special significance, being applied to themselves and their followers by the magnates, whose power tended more and more to eclipse even that of the Throne. Finally, in the twelfth century, when the Minamoto brought the whole country under the sway of a military organisation, the privilege of bearing arms was restricted to the *bushi*. Thenceforth the military class entered upon a period of administrative and social superiority which lasted, without serious interruption, until the middle of the nineteenth century. But it is to be observed that the distinction between soldier and civilian, *samurai* and commoner, was not of ancient existence, nor did it arise from any question of race or caste, victor and vanquished, as is often supposed and stated. It was an outcome wholly of ambitious usurpations, which, relying for success on force of arms, gave practical importance to the soldier and invested his profession with factitious honour. Hence, when *Bushi-dō*, or the "warrior's way," is spoken of, there should be understood a moral cult, not the special property of one section only of the nation, but representing the development that Japanese char-

acter in general tended to assume under certain conditions.

The rules of conduct prescribed for the *bushi* varied, more or less, in different fiefs, each feudal chief enacting his own code. As a general type it will be sufficient to quote one set of regulations — those formulated by Katō Kiyomasa, a celebrated general of the sixteenth century: —

The following regulations are to be observed by *samurai* of every rank, the highest and the lowest alike:

1. The routine of service must be strictly observed. From six A. M. military exercises shall be practised. Archery, gunnery, and equestrianism must not be neglected. If any man shows greater proficiency than his comrades in the way of the *bushi*, he shall receive extra pay.

2. Those that desire recreation may engage in hawking, deer-hunting, or wrestling.

3. With regard to dress, garments of cotton or pongee shall be worn. Any one incurring debts owing to extravagance of costume or living shall be considered a law-breaker. If, however, being zealous in the practice of military arts suitable to his rank, a man desires to hire instructors, an allowance for that purpose may be granted to him.

4. The staple of diet shall be unhulled rice. At social entertainments, one guest for one host is the proper limit. Only when men are assembled for military exercises should many dine together.

5. It is the duty of every *samurai* to make himself acquainted with the principles of his craft. Extravagant displays of adornment are forbidden in battle.

6. Dancing, or organising dances, is unlawful: it is likely to betray sword-carrying men to acts of vio-

lence.[1] Whatever a man does should be done with his heart. Therefore for the soldier military amusements alone are suitable. The penalty for violating this provision is death by suicide.

7. Learning should be encouraged. Military books must be read. The spirit of loyalty and filial piety must be educated before all things. Poem-composing pastimes are not to be engaged in by *samurai*. To be addicted to such amusements is to resemble a woman. A man born a *samurai* should live and die sword in hand. Unless he be thus trained in time of peace, he will be useless in the hour of stress. To be brave and warlike must be his invariable condition.

Whosoever finds these rules too severe shall be relieved from service. Should investigation show that any one is so unfortunate as to lack manly qualities, he shall be singled out and dismissed forthwith. The imperative character of these instructions must not be doubted.

The obviously paramount purpose of these regulations was to draw a sharp line of demarkation between the *samurai* and the courtiers living in Kyōtō. The dancing, the couplet-composing, the sumptuous living, and the fine costumes of officials frequenting the Imperial capital were strictly interdicted by the feudatories, and the veto in Kiyomasa's code was couched in language that must have sounded particularly offensive in the ears of the ancient nobility of Kyōtō. Frugality, fealty, and filial piety — these may be called the fundamental virtues of the *bushi*. Owing to the circumstances out of which his

[1] See Appendix, note 33.

caste had grown, he regarded all bread-winning pursuits with contempt and despised money. It was the constant aim of his leaders to encourage this mood, and they succeeded thoroughly, though their methods were not apparently calculated to ensure success. For while, on the one hand, the allowances granted to a *bushi* of inferior rank were so meagre that it often became necessary for him to undertake some domestic industry in order to procure means of sustenance, on the other, rewards for distinguished services usually took the form of an increase of income, and in describing a great man's position, one of the first points mentioned was the number of measures of rice he received annually. Emoluments, therefore, should naturally have occupied a large share of attention. But they did not. An ample corrective seems to have been furnished by a system of ranks and grades, through which the *samurai* could gradually rise by distinguished conduct until he stood within a short distance of the Throne itself. For, although the sovereign towered above all human distinctions, and therefore did not nominally occupy any place in the classification, nevertheless the first grade of the first rank was not bestowed upon any subject. It corresponded to the hiatus left in a document before a mention of the Mikado. If any subject attained to the second grade of the first rank, as some few did under wholly exceptional circumstances, he could feel that he had ascended very

close to the Throne. Further, a *samurai's* official rank, being prefixed to his name, constituted a species of title which he valued as much as the right of carrying a sword. For these various reasons, but chiefly because bread-winning was originally the business of those not physically qualified to be soldiers, the *bushi* regarded money with indifference and even contempt. To be swayed in the smallest degree by mercenary motives was despicable in his eyes.

The *bushi* was essentially a stoic. He made self-control the ideal of his existence, and practised the courageous endurance of suffering so thoroughly that he could without hesitation inflict on his own body pain of the severest description.

The power of surrendering life with heroic calmness has been developed by men in all ages, and is regarded by philosophers as an elementary form of human virtue, practised with most success in an uncivilised state of society before the finer appreciations of the imaginative and intellectual faculties have been developed by education. But the courage of the *bushi* cannot justly be ascribed to bluntness of moral sensibility resulting from semi-savage conditions of life. It has been shown in these pages that the current of existence in Japan from the Nara epoch onward set with general steadiness in the direction of artistic refinement and voluptuous luxury, amid which men could scarcely fail to acquire habits and

tastes inconsistent with acts of high courage and great endurance. The *bushi's* mood, therefore, was not a product of semi-barbarous conditions, but rather a protest against emasculating civilisation. He schooled himself to regard death inflicted by his own hand as a normal eventuality. The story of other nations shows epochs when death was welcomed as a relief and deliberately invited as a refuge from the mere weariness of living. But wherever there has been liberty to choose, and leisure to employ, a painless mode of exit from the world, men have invariably selected it. The euthanasis of the Romans was achieved by the opened vein or the numbing herb, and only the barbarian captive who had to resort to any available weapon and to seize the earliest opportunity, displayed contempt of physical suffering in the hour of death. The *bushi*, however, deliberately adopted a mode of suicide so painful and so shocking that to school the mind to regard it with indifference and resort to it without flinching was a feat not easy to conceive. His method was to plunge a short-sword into the left side of the abdomen, swop it across to the right, giving it a sharp upward turn at the end of the gash; then to withdraw it, thrust it into the back of the neck, and cut toward the throat. Assistance was often rendered by a friend, who, sword in hand, stood ready to decapitate the victim immediately after the stomach had been gashed; but there were innumerable exam-

ples of men who consummated the tragedy without aid, especially when the sacrifice of life was by way of protest against the excesses of a feudal chief or the crimes of a ruler, or when some motive for secrecy existed.

It must be observed that the suicide of the *bushi* was never inspired by any doctrine like that of Hegesias. Death did not present itself to him as a legitimate means of escaping from the cares and disappointments of life. Self-destruction had only one consolatory aspect, namely, that it was the soldier's privilege to expiate a crime with his own sword, not under the hand of the executioner. He might not be haled before a legal tribunal, like a common peasant or an artisan. It rested with his feudal chief to determine his guilt, and his peremptory duty was never to question the justice of an order to commit suicide, but to obey without murmur or protest. For the rest, the general motives were to escape the dishonour of falling into the hands of a victorious enemy, to remonstrate against some official abuse which no ordinary complaint could reach, or, by means of a dying protest, to turn a liege lord from pursuing courses injurious to his reputation and his fortunes. This last was the noblest reason for suicide, and by no means the most infrequent. Scores of examples are recorded of men who, with everything to make existence desirable, fortune, friends, high office, and higher prospects, deliberately laid down their lives at the prompting of loyalty, their

sense of duty depriving the *seppuku*[1] of all its horrors. There the Japanese *bushi* rose to a remarkable height of moral nobility. He had no assurance that his death might not be wholly fruitless. So, indeed, it often proved. If the sacrifice achieved its purpose, if it turned a liege lord from evil courses into the path of sobriety, the *bushi* could hope that his memory would be honoured. But if, in obedience to the common promptings of human nature, the lord resented such a violent and conspicuous method of reproving his excesses, then the faithful vassal's retribution would be an execrated memory and, perhaps, suffering for his family and relatives. Yet the deed was perpetrated again and again. The loyal servant committed to paper a last appeal to the better instincts of his master, and then calmly disembowelled himself.

If he was always ready to die for the sake of his master's fair fame, the *bushi* naturally counted suicide preferable to his own dishonour. Uyesugi Kenshin, feudal chief of Echigo, one of the greatest captains of the sixteenth century, enacted a code of regulations in which the heaviest penalty prescribed for a *bushi* was deprivation of his swords; the second, death; the third, banishment. It is recorded that one of his vassals, Nagao Uyemon, having committed a serious offence, Kenshin condemned him to forfeit the privilege of carrying a sword, and when strong intercession

[1] See Appendix, note 34.

was made for the man on the plea that his father had done great deeds, Kenshin agreed to commute the sentence to suicide.

Innumerable instances present themselves of men who laid down their lives to save those of their feudal chiefs. Indeed such cases were so common that historians did not think it worth while to relate them unless some exceptional circumstances distinguished the event. One or two must be set down here, however, for the sake of illustrating not merely this particular phase of the *bushi's* character, but also his methods in general.

Towards the close of the twelfth century, after the overthrow of the Taira clan, which event was brought about chiefly by the military genius of Yoshitsune, the latter, becoming an object of jealousy to his brother Yoritomo, who wielded the administrative power, had to fly northward to Ōshiu. Attended by a small band of faithful followers, who had fought beside him in all his campaigns, he reached the plain of Yoshino, where his pursuers pressed upon him so closely that unless they could be checked, escape seemed impossible. Yoshitsune had reconciled himself to his fate when one of the party, Satō Tadanobu, a swordsman of the highest skill, asked permission to personate his chief and await the enemy's onset, hoping that during the interval thus gained his comrades could continue their flight. Yoshitsune was most unwilling to sacrifice an old friend,

but Tadanobu insisted that hesitation would give the foe time to surround them, and then all must die. At length Yoshitsune consented, and having changed armour with Tadanobu, "tearfully continued his flight." A fierce combat ensued. Tadanobu, proclaiming himself Yoshitsune, slew a score of his assailants, and finally cutting a way through their ranks, reached Kyōtō, where he concealed himself in the house of a woman who had formerly been his mistress, until an opportunity of rejoining Yoshitsune should present itself. The woman had for lover at the time Kajiwara Kagehisa, one of Yoritomo's captains. Looking for credit and reward, she revealed to Kagehisa the fact that Tadanobu was hiding in her house. But Kagehisa, whose conduct at this point is described as that of a "true *bushi*," rebuked the woman sternly. "I have orders to search diligently for Yoshitsune," he said, "but I have no order to search for Tadanobu, and I should deem myself disgraced if, for the sake of guerdon, I sought the life of one of the most loyal soldiers in the Empire. Tadanobu was once your lover. If you are not sufficiently virtuous to die for him, you can at least help him to escape." With that he turned his back on the woman and never visited her again. But she, now adding chagrin to cupidity, repaired to Rokuhara, and gave information to the officials there. Two hundred men were sent to seize Tadanobu. Again he fought a splendid

fight, cutting down fifteen or sixteen of his assailants, so that at last they retired beyond the reach of his sword, and bent their bows to shoot him. Then he ascended to the roof of the house and shouted to them to hold their hands while he spoke: "A crowd of you have come to attack me as I slept. Cowards! Did you not dare to challenge me in fair fight? I have already given my life to my lord on the plain of Yoshino, and to lose it now is nothing. It would be easy to fall, fighting so long as my sword had an edge. But to slay one or two hundred common fellows like you would be an idle task. Yet you shall not carry to Kamakura a lying story how you took the head of such an one as Tadanobu. See now how a true warrior dies, so that you may tell it to your children." Thus speaking, he plunged his sword into his body and drew it across and upward in the true *seppuku* fashion. Yoritomo applauded his death in terms of high praise, and caused his body to be buried with all honour.

Prince Morinaga, besieged by his enemies (1333 A. D.) and reduced to desperate straits, fled at the last moment from his castle. If the assailants suspected his flight, escape would be impossible. Murakami Yoshimitsu, donning a suit of the Prince's armour, ascended a tower, and presenting himself to the enemy, shouted, "Hear me, rebels! I, the son of the Emperor Godaigo, destroyed by your disloyalty, die here by my own

hand. Learn from me how to die, that you may know it when your time comes." Then taking off his armour, he cast it from the tower, and cutting open his stomach, tore out his intestines, dashed them against the battlements, and fell with his sword in his teeth. His son Yoshitaka would have followed his example, but the father forbade him to make any needless sacrifice of his life, which belonged to his Prince. Yoshitaka, therefore, joined the Prince, and subsequently, when the latter was hard pressed, Yoshitaka planted himself in the path and held off the pursuers until, having received ten wounds, he finally leaped into a bamboo grove and committed suicide.

When Kamakura fell, the Hōjō chief, Takatoki, with eight hundred and seventy of his principal vassals, repaired to the temple Tōshō-ji, where they all committed suicide. Many other followers of the Hōjō died by their own hand in various parts of the town. Among the latter was Andō Sayemon. Driven from his post with a remnant of his troops, only a hundred men, and finding his house destroyed, his wife and children gone, and Takatoki's castle in ruins, he prepared with his comrades to commit *seppuku* beside the smoking ruins, for, not knowing that Takatoki and his men were even then dying at Toshō-ji, he complained bitterly of the disgrace that the flames which destroyed the castle of the lord of all Japan had not been watered by the blood of at least a

thousand of his soldiers. At that moment a messenger arrived carrying a letter from Andō's niece, who was married to Nitta Yoshisada, commander-in-chief of the hostile forces. She advised Andō to surrender to Yoshisada, pledging herself to intercede for him. It is related that Andō's answer was: "A soldier's wife must have a soldier's heart if she is to bear him children worthy of his name. All men knew that it has been my privilege to live a warrior's life, and if now, when fate has found me, I yielded to the foe, shame would be my lot. Yoshisada may have thought to put me to the proof, but his wife should not have helped him to insult me by such a proposal." Then, wrapping the letter round the hilt of his sword, he disembowelled himself, and his example was followed by all his soldiers.

Uyesugi Kenshin, desiring to secure the province of Shinano against the enterprises of his rival, Takeda Shingen, gave it in fief to his brother-in-law, Nagao Masakage. Presently doubts began to be thrown on the fidelity of Masakage. Kenshin resolved to have him put to death, and took counsel as to how the decision might be carried out. His chief vassals urged him to desist, pointing out that only vague suspicions existed; that to act on such evidence might involve the very catastrophe they sought to avert, namely, the loss of Shinano, and that to compass the death of his own brother-in-law would be a disgrace to Kenshin. But he overruled their

objections and ordered Sadayuki, chief of Nojiri, to contrive the removal of the supposed traitor. Sadayuki repaired to Nojiri, invited Masakage to pay him a friendly visit, took him out on the lake in a boat having its keel planks loosened, and throwing his arms around him, died with him. People did not detect the hand of Kenshin in this incident. They imagined that it was the sequel of a private quarrel between the two men, and Kenshin confirmed the delusion by confiscating Sadayuki's fief. But he subsequently bestowed large revenues on Sadayuki's son, and adopted as his own heir Masakage's son, the afterwards celebrated Uyesugi Kagekatsu.

Two other instances may be quoted, one as helping to express the motive of the *bushi's* loyalty, another as illustrating his heroic courage: —

Takeda Katsuyori, his forces scattered in battle, escaped with only forty men to the mountain of Temmoku. There he was joined by Kamiyama Tomonobu. This man, previously one of Katsuyori's chief vassals, had been dismissed in consequence of his unwelcome warnings that disaster must result unless his lord adopted different courses, and in consequence of slanders directed against him. He found higher service elsewhere, yet when he learned that Katsuyori was reduced to helpless extremity, he hastened to his side and died with him.

Okudaira Nobumasa, besieged in the castle of Nagashimo by Takeda Katsuyori, found himself reduced to such straits for provisions that unless succour arrived speedily he must surrender. He called for a volunteer to carry the news of his plight to Tokugawa Iyeyasu, by whom he had been stationed to guard the castle. Torii Suneyemon undertook to bear the message. He succeeded in making his way through the enemy and reaching Iyeyasu, who assured him that Oda Nobunaga was then marching to the relief of the castle, and that he himself would set his forces in motion for the same purpose the following day. He therefore advised Suneyemon to remain in the camp and join the troops in their movement towards the castle. Suneyemon, however, refused to remain a moment. His comrades, he said, would be anxiously awaiting his return. But in attempting to re-enter the castle, he fell into the enemy's hands. They offered him his life as well as large reward, if he would proceed to the walls and warn the garrison that succour could not arrive and that nothing was left but surrender. He consented. Then Katsuyori's men, having bound him to a cross, set it up before the castle and, by means of a letter-bearing arrow, summoned the garrison to the ramparts to receive his message. Suneyemon, a circle of spear-points directed against his naked bosom, raised his head and shouted to the garrison: "Before three days you will be relieved.

Stand fast." As he uttered the last word the spears clashed in his body.

There is scarcely any limit to the number of historical incidents illustrating this phase of the *bushi's* character. They seem to indicate that heroic loyalty was the rudimentary virtue of the Military epoch. Before formulating any general conclusion of that kind, however, it will be wise to consider some of the other attributes revealed by the records of the *bushi's* acts.

The history of humanity shows that moral principles have never been allowed to interfere greatly with the consummation of ambitious designs. No contradiction of that experience is to be found in the story of the *samurai*. If loyalty and fidelity were conspicuously displayed by him in a subordinate position, he sometimes violated both without hesitation for the sake of grasping power or climbing to social eminence. When Ashikaga Takauji, one of the principal Kamakura generals, was about to march from Kamakura to Kyōtō at a crisis in the history of the Hōjō's supremacy, suspicions were cast upon his loyalty, and the Hōjō Vicegerent asked him to sign an oath of fidelity. He did so without hesitation, and, a few days later, accepted the Emperor's commission to destroy the Hōjō. It would not be easy to find many instances of treachery following so close on the heels of asseverations of loyalty, but there are almost innumerable examples of men plotting against those

to whom they owed the foundations of their fortune, or betraying those that trusted them. Vicarious but striking evidence of the prevalence of such lapses is furnished by the success that attended slanders, and the readiness of men in power to listen to whispers against the fealty of their subordinates or the constancy of their allies. Indeed the victim of unjust slander is a figure encountered perpetually in the annals of mediæval Japan, and the only circumstance that palliates his existence is the sympathy he receives from the dramatist and the historian. If, in those unquiet times, the traducer found a credulous audience, the contumely heaped upon his memory is sufficient indication that his methods were contrary to the moral code of the nation, and especially of the *bushi*. Moreover, as against these displays of treachery and deceit, must be set the circumstances of the era: an era when a man's strength to defy attack was the measure of his safety; when a state of war being the normal condition of the nation, the wide license of method permissible in war received general sanction, and when no success was too large nor any office too high to be beyond the reach of resolute and unscrupulous daring.

That the vendetta was largely practised in the Military epoch is doubtless attributable mainly to the fact that there did not exist any competent or trustworthy tribunals, acting in the interests of society and ready to undertake the office of

punishment instead of leaving it to the wronged person. The passion of revenge has always and everywhere shown itself one of the most durable of human motives. In Japan it inspired untiring, implacable tenacity of deadly purpose. Men devoted long years to pursuing the slayer of a father or some less intimate relative; abandoned fortune and position in order to carry out the quest, and did not allow extreme hardships to divert them from their aim. But if these displays of resolution and endurance elicit applause, there is generally to be found in the circumstances that gave rise to the vendetta some revolting exhibition of treachery, vindictiveness, or ferocity. A man defeated in a fencing-match to which he has himself challenged his opponent, subsequently waylays the latter, and shoots him from behind, or hires assassins to destroy him, or contrives his disgrace by preferring false charges officially against him. A *samurai*, with the aid of his paramour, inveigles a rival to a drinking-bout and slays him as he lies unconscious under the influence of wine. A soldier who sees another promoted over his head, devises an elaborate scheme to convict him of conspiracy which he has never contemplated. Such acts, forming the prelude to vengeance achieved in despite of great difficulties and lengthy delays, are almost sufficiently numerous to lower the general standard of the *bushi's* morality; but when the spirit they displayed is balanced against the spirit they

evoked and against the instances of heroic loyalty with which the records abound, the excess is certainly not on the evil side.

The expedients resorted to by combatants and political rivals during the Military epoch evinced a liberal rendering of the principle that everything is fair in war. Oda Nobunaga did not hesitate to forge documents containing false accusations against men whom he wished to destroy. Hideyoshi, the *Taikō* desiring to purchase the friendship of Iyeyasu, by whom he had been defeated in battle, took his own sister-in-law from her husband, one of his vassals, and sent her to Iyeyasu. The girl's husband committed suicide, but Iyeyasu, though cognisant of these things, accepted her for the sake of her beauty and because of the purpose of the gift. More instructive, however, than the multiplication of historical instances is the text of the Chinese treatises from which the *bushi* derived military instruction. It is there laid down that the spy is the highest product of skilled strategy, and five varieties are minutely described, the greatest expert being he that, simulating disaffection to the master he really serves, wins the confidence of the enemy, and, living in their midst, deceives them into adopting suicidal courses. Obata Kagemori, one of the most celebrated tacticians of Japan, played that rôle successfully when, a secret emissary of Iyeyasu, he lived in the castle of Osaka, and succeeded in thwarting,

while pretending to promote, the plans of its master Hideyori. It may be broadly stated that moral principles received no respect whatever from framers of political plots or planners of *ruses-de-guerre*. Yet the *Taikō*, who stands conspicuous among Japan's great leaders for improbity in the choice of means to a public or a military end, desired to commit suicide rather than survive the ignominy of failure to fulfil a pledge. Nothing, indeed, could be more erroneous than to conclude that because the dictates of right and honour were ignored in dealing with an enemy, the *bushi* showed similar laxity in intercourse with friends and comrades. Such an error would correspond to inferring that the immorality displayed by modern nations in their relations with each other is reflected in the conduct of the individuals composing them.

The *bushi* entertained a high respect for the obligations of truth. "A *bushi* never lies" was one of his favourite mottoes; or, to put it in his own language, "A *bushi* has no second word" (*bushi ni nigon nashi*). Industrial veracity never existed in Japan. Neither commerce nor manufacturing enterprise acquired at any time sufficient importance to demonstrate the injurious effects of want of mutual confidence and the value of strict fidelity to engagements. Political veracity remained similarly undeveloped. Probably no other nation continued throughout so many centuries entirely unacquainted with public contro-

versy or debate in any form, whether religious, philosophical, or political. It cannot even be said that object lessons in the uses of a judicial spirit were furnished by the law courts, for these simply administered the edicts of rulers without attempting to set forth the reasons of their decisions. There was, in fact, nothing to educate the spirit of fair play which is the invariable companion of a love of truth. Yet the *bushi* unquestionably set high store by veracity, and had a keen sense of the dishonour and disgrace that ought to attach to a falsehood. This word "falsehood" is not here employed in the very extensive sense given to it by moral philosophers in the Occident. According to the view entertained by the *bushi* in the Military epoch and still prevalent throughout the Japanese nation, the obligation to reveal facts in their nakedness is relative. If it is evident that misfortune will be entailed or distress caused by absolute frankness of declaration, concealment, or even misrepresentation, is considered justifiable. Truth is not set upon a pedestal above the sorrows and sufferings of existence, or even above the cares and worries of daily life. If, indeed, the consequences of the spoken word will fall entirely upon the speaker, the duty of veracity becomes theoretically imperative. But if the interests or welfare of others is at stake, statements may be adapted to occasions. That is the philosophy of falsehood in Japan to-day as it was in the Mili-

tary epoch. "The untruth of convenience" (*hōben no uso*), the "white lie," is not counted an offence against morality. What the *bushi* meant when he announced his creed, "no second word," was that a pledge or promise must never be broken; that if a military man engaged himself to do a certain thing, he must do it at whatever cost to himself. That was not truth for truth's sake: it was truth for the sake of the spirit of uncompromising manliness on which the *samurai* based all his code of morality. His doctrine gradually permeated society at large. In the seventeenth century written security for a debt took the form, not of the hypothecation of property, but of an avowal that failure to pay would be to forfeit the debtor's title of manhood, or to confer on the creditor the right of publicly ridiculing him. Had such a principle continued to grow in reverence, it would have served as an excellent substitute for industrial veracity. But the development of luxurious and effeminate habits during the long reign of peace under the Tokugawa administration, undermined the virile morality of the *bushi*. His ideals deteriorated and his example ceased to be a wholesome incentive. At the commencement of Japan's resumed intercourse with foreign nations in the middle of the nineteenth century, *samurai* visited the open ports to transact business for their liege lords, and the foreign merchant soon learned that their word was as good as their bond. Pride of

race in the presence of the alien reinforced their weakened pride of manhood and held them faithful to their engagements. But it has ever been the experience of the foreigner that no such fidelity can be expected as a common trait of the business man's character in Japan.

The devoted fealty of the *samurai* towards his feudal chief cannot be said to have extended to his attitude towards the sovereign. To the majority of the military class the Throne seems to have presented itself in the light of a comparatively unimportant abstraction. If the great Court nobles made a puppet of the Emperor in the early eras, the *bushi* showed even less reverence in their bearing towards him in mediæval times, and that the tendency of their minds was not in any sense monarchical is a conclusion which forces itself upon the attention of any careful reader of Japanese annals. Kiso Yoshinaka, the "Morning Sun *Shōgun*," who struck the first strong blow at the power of the Taira in the twelfth century, openly declared that the ex-Emperor was a monk, the Emperor himself, a baby, and the Regent (*Kwampaku*) a greater man than either of them. This mood showed itself very strongly in the time of the Hōjō. At the outset of their career they came into collision with the Throne, and they marked their victory by deposing an Emperor and banishing three ex-Emperors to remote islands. Such arbitrary proceedings did not shock the bulk of the *samurai*.

They spoke of the attempt made by the ex-Emperor Gotoba to free himself from the Kamakura yoke as "the rebellion" of the sovereign. In their eyes the repository of the administrative power, namely, the Vicegerent in Kamakura, was the ruler of the Empire, and any one, of whatever station, that ventured to oppose him was counted a rebel. A further development of this tendency took place under the administration of the same chieftains: their conception of the best form of government was evidently a military oligarchy based on popular approval. The second of that remarkable line of Vicegerents, in conjunction with his twelve councillors, promulgated a constitution of fifty articles, founded on the principles of humanity and justice, without any reference to stereotyped formulæ about the virtues and divinity of the Throne. It is true that Yasutoki himself, like all the great Hōjō chiefs, made no attempt to usurp high office. But he did not hesitate to exercise supreme authority. Some account must be taken, indeed, of the Imperial Court's signal failures to inspire respect at that epoch. The Emperor Shijō amused himself by having the floors of the Palace salons waxed so that the ladies of the Court might fall when they walked on them. Finally he fell himself and died of the injuries received. No one then doubted that the power to nominate the next sovereign rested with the Hōjō chief, nor did he show any hesitation in

choosing a Prince whose father had stood aloof from all intrigues against Kamakura. When the delegate to whom Yasutoki entrusted the commission of enthroning the new sovereign, asked what he should do if, on reaching Kyōtō, he found that the succession had already become an accomplished fact, Yasutoki replied briefly: "Never mind. Only take care that my nominee ascends the Throne." If one of the Imperial Princes despatched from Kyōtō to fill the office of *Shōgun* in Kamakura, was found an undesirable personage, the Hōjō sent him back, and the *samurai* spoke of him as having been "exiled" to Kyōtō. It was also by a Hōjō Vicegerent that the Imperial line was divided into two branches privileged to occupy the Throne alternately for ten years. The limit of the time was arithmetically fair, for the reigns of the fifteen sovereigns, from the eightieth to the ninety-fourth, immediately preceding this new régime, had averaged only nine years. But the people could not fail to see that the sacred right of succession and the whole theory of the Emperor's relations to his people were violated by an arrangement which made two Imperial families competitors for a decennial tenure of the Crown, and substituted the fiat of a subject for the divine title of the sovereign. The last of the Hōjō Vicegerents, Takatoki, did no violence to the customs of his time when he sent a force of soldiers to Kyōtō to dethrone the Emperor, and

thus became responsible for the spectacle of a sovereign fleeing from his palace disguised in female garments. This oligarchical tendency did not undergo any change with the fall of the Hōjō. Kono Moronao, the commander of the first Ashikaga Chief's soldiers, instructed his followers thus: "If you want estates, take those of the Emperor. A living Emperor is a mere waster of the world's substance, and an obstacle to the people. He is not a necessity, but if we must have him, a wooden effigy will do equally well." Probably such an extreme view had few adherents, but its expression did not provoke any remonstrance. Hideyoshi, the *Taikō*, adopted a more respectful attitude towards the Throne, though in some respects he was essentially democratic. Thus he showed absolute indifference to aristocratic claims in choosing his assistants, being guided solely by his judgment of a man's capacity. Among his great captains, Fukushima Masanori was originally a carpenter; Katō Kiyomasa, a nameless nobody like the *Taikō* himself; Konishi Yukinaga, the son of a druggist; Ishida Katsushige, a page in a temple. But recognising the necessity of hiding his own lowly birth under the shadow of a great office — that of regent — he was careful to exalt the giver of the office. Hence the Imperial Court fared well at his hands. Yet one of Hideyoshi's deliberate acts was strikingly inconsistent with any genuine sense of the dignity of the sovereign. At a

banquet in his castle at Fushimi, to which the Emperor, the Empress, and the Prince of the Blood repaired, he presented a sum of 5,530 *ryō* to the sovereign, and gave five hundred *koku* of rice to the Empress, and three hundred to the Princes. Moreover, while strictly forbidding the general use of the chrysanthemum and paulownia badges, on the ground that they appertained solely to the sovereign, he not only used them himself, but gave surcoats on which they were blazoned as rewards to his followers. It seems, in short, to have been his purpose to show that while the Throne should be stable, it owed its stability to the support of great subjects like himself. Iyeyasu, the founder of the Tokugawa dynasty, undoubtedly aimed at establishing his government on the will of the people. It may be true that, at times, the fortunes of his own house assumed larger dimensions on his political horizon than the interests of the nation: that would have been natural in the greatest statesman born amid such circumstances. But the words addressed by him to the nobles who surrounded his death-bed were unequivocal: "My son has now come of age. I feel no anxiety for the future of the State. But should my successor commit any grave fault in his administration, do you administer affairs yourselves. The country is not the country of one man, but the country of the nation. If my descendants lose their power because of their own misdeeds, I shall not

regret it." To his son, Hidetada, he said: "Take care of the people. Strive to be virtuous. Never neglect to protect the country." The spirit of such injunctions is plain. It is true that this remarkable statesman increased the allowances for the maintenance of the Emperor and the Imperial Family, and did nothing to impair the stability of the Throne. But he emphatically asserted the absolute right of the *Shōgun* to exercise the executive authority independently of the sovereign, himself accepting, at the same time, the responsibility of preserving public peace and good order. Further a code of eighteen laws enacted by him for the control of the fiefs had his signature only, and did not bear the Sign Manual.

That the anti-monarchical tendencies of the *bushi* were recognised by some deep thinkers among themselves may be clearly gathered from the doctrine enunciated by Kumazawa Banzan, chief vassal of the Okayama fief, at the close of the seventeenth century. He taught that the mission of a lord was to develop the welfare of his people; that the Emperor was the true head of the nation, the *Shōgun* being only His Majesty's lieutenant; and that the *samurai* were mere bandits, regarding the sovereign as a wooden idol and the common people as dust. To find any one advocating such views in feudal Japan at the close of the seventeenth century seems as remarkable as the fact that Banzan was

suffered to ventilate them freely, and that when he lectured in Yedo, the very stronghold of the *samurai's* power, all the magnates went to hear him. In his eyes the word "people" meant not the military class only, but the nation at large. He enunciated the theory which was carried into practice a century and a half later at the *Meiji* Restoration. Nor did he stand alone in his peculiar beliefs. His contemporary, Hotta Masatoshi, chief Minister of the *Shōgun* Tsunayoshi, fearlessly proclaimed the doctrine that "the people are the basis of a nation," and sought to give it practical effect by protecting the agricultural classes, and inculcating the principles of loyalty to the sovereign, the people's father. These men were the outcome of a reaction against the masterful demeanour of the *bushi* towards the non-military classes of the people, and against his often displayed disposition to make light of the Throne.

In the dying words of Iyeyasu, quoted above, a strong note of patriotism is audible. As he closed his eyes on the world where he had played such a conspicuous part, the welfare of the country concerned him more than the permanence of the magnificent position he had won for his own family. But in the sayings and doings of the *bushi* generally, from the *Heian* era down to the close of the Military epoch, no evidence appears that love of country was ever a dominant sentiment, if the fact be excepted that they spoke of the spirit animating themselves, the spirit of the

samurai, as *Yamato-damashii*,[1] thus assigning to it a national character. There was in truth nothing in the conditions or incidents of their existence to educate patriotism, — no rivalry with other States, no struggle for the safety of altar and hearth. The security and prosperity of the fief to which each *bushi* belonged were the limits of his mental horizon. Nevertheless, at the beginning of the *Meiji* era, there suddenly flamed up throughout the whole nation a fire of patriotism which burned thenceforth with almost fierce strength. The *Yamato-damashii* ceased to be a theoretical sentiment and became a practical inspiration. Men of the *samurai* class devoted themselves with absorbing energy to the task of raising their country's international status. Nothing in their history suggested the probability of such a display of vigorous patriotism. The explanation, however, is simple. What stirred their hearts so profoundly was the discovery that in many of the essentials of material civilisation their country was separated by an immense interval from Occidental States. They found that, during centuries of seclusion, Japan had fallen far behind Europe and America in the race of progress, and that unless she was to lie permanently under the reproach of semi-barbarism, a strong effort on the part of her people was necessary. Such ready recognition of an unwelcome fact reflects credit on their intelligence. But that phase of the matter need not be con-

[1] See Appendix, note 35.

EXAMPLES OF JAPANESE FLOWER ARRANGEMENTS.

sidered here. The point deserving emphasis is that, prior to the abolition of feudalism in the *Meiji* era and the re-commencement of foreign intercourse, there had been no evidences of the existence of patriotism among the Japanese people, and that the event which evoked the sentiment was well calculated to produce such an effect. In the sixteenth century, when object-lessons in the nature and quality of Occidental civilisation were first submitted for Japanese inspection by the Portuguese and the Dutch, no marked superiority could be claimed for the foreign systems. On the contrary, the strangers presented themselves in the guise of truculent, law-despising, covetous, and uncultured adventurers, their minds degraded by the pursuit of gain, which the *bushi* held in traditional contempt, and their manners disfigured by a lack of the courtesies and conventionalities so scrupulously observed in Japan; whereas the appliances and contrivances of their civilisation were very little better than those of the Japanese, and the æsthetic side of their nature was apparently quite undeveloped. But when, after an interval of more than two centuries, they appeared once more upon the scene, everything had changed. The locomotive, the steamship, the telegraph, the man-of-war, the rifle, the machinery of manufacture — all these and many other striking features were absolutely novel. The display dazzled the Japanese completely, and stirred them to such a

sense of their country's inferiority that men who had never previously looked beyond the fortunes of the fief to which they owed allegiance, now fixed their eyes on Japan as a whole, and became haunted by a feverish longing to raise her rapidly from the lowly place she occupied. Nothing short of direct association with the Japanese *samurai* of that era could convey a just idea of their importunate anxiety to bring Japan "abreast of Western nations." That phrase (*gaikoku to kata wo naraberu*) was perpetually in their mouths. Had the feudal system survived, their energy of effort would have been exerted on behalf of each fief separately; but feudalism having disappeared, it was upon the country at large that the stigma of international deficiency fell, and it was of the country as a whole that men thought with solicitude. It is true that Japan had always been esteemed by its people a land of divine origin, and very likely that estimate helped to accentuate the chagrin of discovering her inferiority in matters of material civilisation. But if the teachings of history be of any value, the conclusion is inevitable that, so far as practical displays are concerned, Japanese patriotism is a sentiment of modern development, and that those who claim any exceptional wealth of innate patriotism for her people must be classed as emotional partisans rather than as sober annalists.

In this context another cognate point may conveniently be noticed. It is usually said of

the modern Japanese that their loyalty to the Throne is limitless, and that a counterpart cannot be found elsewhere. The Japanese themselves assert the fact; assert it with vehemence and insistence calculated to suggest doubt rather than to inspire confidence. But the above historical analysis shows conclusively that if loyalty to the Throne survived down to the *Meiji* era, it did so in spite of frequent encroachments upon the Imperial prerogatives and constant displays of disrespect; that it seldom or never took the form of practical reverence, and that its existence as a directing influence could not possibly be inferred from the conduct of either the *bushi* or the Court nobles in *ante-Meiji* days. In short, like his feverish patriotism, the almost delirious loyalty of the modern Japanese, though its roots may be planted in the soil of a very ancient creed, never showed any signs of vigorous growth until the profound fealty of the *bushi* towards their liege lords was transferred, after the abolition of feudalism, to the only figure that had survived all vicissitudes, the sovereign. It is not intended to deny that loyalty to the Throne partakes of the character of a religion in modern Japan, and that the people's reverence for the Sovereign amounts almost to worship. But with the frequently asserted claim that such loyalty is traditional, such reverence hereditary, it is impossible for any careful student of history to fully agree.[1]

[1] See Appendix, note 36.

The ties of consanguinity snapped easily in mediæval Japan when subjected to the strain of ambition or of loyalty. A vassal's duty to his chief outweighed the claims of filial piety, and men were frequently confronted by the dilemma of having to choose between the two during an era when great houses, whose heads and dependents had long been on terms of close friendship and intermarriage, were driven by the exigencies of the time into opposite camps. On the eve of the fight at Sekigahara which finally established the Tokugawa sway over the whole of Japan, Sanada Masayuki and his two sons, Nobuyuki and Yukimasa, had to consider whether they would join the Tokugawa chief, Iyeyasu, or enter the camp of his enemies, the Osaka party. The old man declared that his obligations to the Tokugawa bound him to their side; his sons said that they could not forget what the *Taiko* had done for their family, and that they would sacrifice their lives in the Osaka cause. The three men parted in the most friendly manner. It is recorded that Masayuki then repaired to the house of his elder son in order to bid a last farewell to his daughter-in-law and his grandchild. But Nobuyuki's wife would not admit him. "The bond of parent and child is broken," she said, "since each has espoused a different cause. I should be untrue to my husband if I did not exclude from his house an ally of his enemy." The old man expressed profound satisfaction with

a reply so true to the dictates of the *Bushi-dō*. He survived the battle, but his two sons perished.

The spirit dictating such acts is well displayed in a letter addressed by the mother of Kōda Hikoyemon to her son. The latter with his liege lord, Oda Nobutaka, had espoused the cause of the *Taikō's* enemies, and thus the lives of Hikoyemon's mother and of Nobutaka's mother, who were held hostages in the *Taikō's* hands, became forfeit. The *Taikō* threatened to put the women to death unless their sons returned to his camp, whereupon Hikoyemon's mother wrote to her son: "Fealty to his lord is the first duty of every man in the empire, and it is the law of nature that parents should die before their children. My life is sacrificed to the cause of our lord and the cause of our house. Let no one mourn for me. Do you, true to the way of the warrior and the path of filial piety, remember that to have a mother is no reason to be unfaithful." This brave lady was crucified.

Nevertheless no pledge was regarded as better securing the observance of a promise than to give one's mother as a hostage. The *Taikō*, when all other means of winning the confidence of Iyeyasu had failed, placed his mother in the hands of the Tokugawa chief, and at once obtained the latter's trust. Oda Nobunaga lost his life by disregarding such a pledge. Among his captains was Akechi Mitsuhide, a brave soldier and skilled leader but eccentric and sensitive. Besieging a

castle in Tamba, Mitsuhide induced its holders, two brothers, to surrender by giving his mother as a hostage that their lives should be spared. But Nobunaga ordered the two men to be burned at the stake. Their followers then inflicted the same fate on Mitsuhide's mother, and Mitsuhide avenged her by rebelling against Nobunaga and compassing his death. So, too, the value of family relations was recognised in the celebrated campaign which the Kamakura men undertook against Kyōtō at the instance of Masa, Yoritomo's widow. In order to guard against disaffection at the eleventh hour, a danger not to be slighted inasmuch as the war was virtually a rebellion against the Emperor, the Kamakura chiefs divided their soldiers so that, if a father went with the army, his son remained in Kamakura, and if one brother was despatched to the south, another stayed in the north.

Neglect of family ties in deference to fealty was a respectable act compared with the unnatural sacrifices made at the shrine of ambition. From the time (1156) when, in the *Hōgen* insurrection, two brothers fought against two brothers, a father against his son, and a nephew against his uncle, the annals are disfigured by many such incidents. Yoritomo destroyed his brothers, his uncle, and his cousin. His widow Masa did her step-son to death. Nobunaga waged war with his father-in-law and his brother-in-law. Takeda Harunobu fought against his father,

Nobutora. Takauji caused his nephew to be poisoned. There is no lack of these occurrences. It is not to be doubted that the necessity of constantly subduing emotions which human nature has endowed with paramount force, created a special moral perspective for the *bushi*, and dwarfed his estimate of sentiments that exercise dominant sway over normally constituted minds. Throughout his whole career he had to hold himself ready to calmly face catastrophes in comparison with which all tender emotions seemed insignificant, and there is no difficulty in conceiving that the stoicism he was expected to show in the presence of deadly peril obtruded itself into relations of life where its display was incongruous and unbecoming.

Ruthlessness frequently evinced towards vanquished foes was another example of the callousness educated in the *bushi* by the scenes of bloodshed among which he lived. When, in consequence of falling under suspicion of treason, Hidetsugu, the *Taikō's* adopted son, was ordered to commit suicide, his wife, his concubine, and his children were all put to death without mercy by order of the *Taiko*. The Tokugawa chief, Iyeyasu, showed similar inclemency. After he had effected the final conquest of the Osaka party, he put to death all the relatives and surviving supporters of its leader. Certainly in thus acting, the *Taikō* and Iyeyasu merely followed a custom approved by many generations. "Com-

prehensive punishment" had long been counted one of the administrator's most effective weapons. If a farmer absconded leaving his taxes unpaid, or fled to another district in the hope of finding lighter feudal burdens, his whole family, his relatives and his friends, were included in the circle of his penalty. No more profoundly pathetic spectacle presents itself in all the drama of Japanese history than the fate of the family of Sogoro, the noble farmer who, because he presented a petition on behalf of his tax-burdened fellow-rustics, was crucified with his wife and two little sons. The only excuse, a very slender one, that can be offered for such cruelty is that this device of converting a man's relatives and friends into constables interested in securing his obedience to the laws, was not of Japanese origin. It had been borrowed, in the seventh century, from China, where the chain of vicarious responsibility used to be drawn out to extraordinary length. But no era of Japanese annals was more disfigured by its exercise than the centuries of the *bushi's* supremacy. The plea of established custom is not without validity. But what can extenuate the conduct of Iyeyasu when he caused his wife to be executed for plotting against him, and compelled his son to commit suicide in expiation of a crime which the unfortunate youth had not been proved to have committed, and, in fact, had not committed; or of Iyemitsu, the third Tokugawa *Shōgun*, who condemned his brother

to a similar fate? It is evident that the habit of despising wounds and death when they fell to his own lot, taught the *bushi* to deal them out to others with indifference. Cruelty in his case sprang from callousness to suffering rather than from vindictiveness. His faculty of intellectual realisation had been blunted by the stoicism he was compelled to practise.

No feature of the *bushi's* character is more discreditable than his slavish yielding to the erotic passion. In the camp, where the presence of women was generally impossible, he thought no shame of resorting to unnatural liaisons, and out of that indulgence there grew a perverted code of morality which surrounded such acts with a halo of martial manliness.[1] But in that respect the conduct of the Japanese *samurai* is deprived of singularity by numerous counterparts in other countries. What differentiates him is his undisguised indifference to chastity for its own sake, as well as to the obligations imposed by the marriage tie. It is remarkable that Buddhism, which in all its forms, with one exception, insisted upon the observance of celibacy by its ministers, failed completely, in the case of its disciples, to subject the passions of the flesh to any of the restraints that Christianity enforced so successfully in Imperial Rome. In vain the student looks among the heroes of the Military epoch for a man who made purity

[1] See Appendix, note 37.

an ideal, continence a duty, or conjugal fidelity a law. The Taira chief, Kiyomori, regarded women as mere playthings, and indulged the caprices of his passion with absolute shamelessness. After he had overthrown his enemy Yoshitomo, the head of the Minamoto clan, he succumbed to the beauty of the latter's concubine, Tokiwa, and in order to purchase her complaisance saved the lives of her three sons, by whom the power of his house was subsequently crushed. Yoshitsune, the so-called Bayard of Japanese history, left a very tarnished record. In the days of his insignificance he won the love of Toruri-hime, whose sorrows endowed her country with a new branch of dramatic literature. From her he transferred his affections to the daughter of Kiichi Hōgen, for the sake of gaining access to a strategical treatise in the possession of her father. At the battle of Dan-no-ura he appropriated the wife of an Imperial prince, and his escape from Kyōtō in the hour of his broken fortunes received a special tinge of romance from his parting with the beautiful dancing-girl Shizuka. Yoshinaka, the first of the Minamoto to shake the Taira's power, derives something of his fame from the military prowess of his concubine Tomoye, but his biographers take little notice of the fact that his infatuation for Matsu, a lady of noble lineage, contributed to his downfall. Even when the enemy were at the gates he could not tear himself from her pillow, nor

did he regard the call of duty until a faithful vassal committed suicide to emphasise a remonstrance against such weakness. Nitta Yoshisada, the type of a loyal soldier in his time, lost the opportunity of his life and sacrificed the cause of his sovereign through his passion for a Court beauty whom the Emperor had bestowed on him. When the Ashikaga leader, Takauji, his forces shattered in battle, fled westward, Yoshisada might have consummated his final overthrow by immediate pursuit. He repaired, instead, to the arms of his mistress. Kono Moronao, Takauji's principal captain, by endeavouring to compass a man's death in order to enjoy his wife, drove them both to commit suicide, and subsequently abducted an ex-Regent's sister who had been destined for service at Court. The lady Yodo, most beloved of the *Taikō's* concubines, had been entrusted to his protection by the noble soldier Shibata Katsuiye when the latter was on the eve of perishing by his own hand in his beleaguered castle. Matsu, who occupied the next place in the *Taikō's* affections, was obtained by a political *ruse;* and, most shameful of all, he invented a paltry pretext to order the suicide of his old friend, the gentle dilettante Sen-no-Rikiu, because the latter declined to urge his daughter to break a vow of fidelity to her deceased husband by receiving the *Taikō's* addresses.[1] Iyeyasu, the great Tokugawa chief,

[1] See Appendix, note 38.

employed his power in a singular fashion. A high official had caused a man to be put to death on a trumped-up accusation in order to possess himself of the widow. She, flying to the castle of Iyeyasu, made her complaint; whereupon the Tokugawa ruler ordered the official to commit suicide, and then compelled the woman to become his own concubine. These examples constitute only a fraction of the recorded catalogue, but, on the other side, there is nowhere to be seen a figure ennobled by purity of life; nowhere a man whose love of one woman and one only stands prominent among the motives of his great deeds. Such men there may have been, but they are not found among the makers of the nation's history. To woman alone was left the honour of practising conjugal fidelity and virtuous self-restraint, and the ideal of objective virtue she attained contrasts vividly with the abyss of self-indulgence into which the other sex fell.

Abuse of the marital tie inflicted its own penalty. In ancient and in mediæval days the most prolific source of dissension was succession to an estate. Nearly every man of rank or station had at least one concubine as well as a wife, and in the absence of an heir born of the latter the former perpetually intrigued to have her son declared heir in preference to the next of kin or to the son by adoption. Then it happened, not infrequently, that after an illegitimate child had been

made heir, a son was born to the wife, and intrigues at once commenced to obtain the succession for the legitimate offspring. Such a change seems natural; but in the interval before the birth of the legitimate child, it often happened that the question had been complicated by many newly formed relations of which the concubine took advantage to prevent the deposition of her offspring. Again and again troubles involving large sections of the feudal aristocracy grew out of these complications, and the *Taikō*, sensible of the necessity of removing such a factor of disturbance, attempted, first, to interdict the keeping of concubines in general, and then had recourse to the less drastic method of declaring two the maximum number. His panegyrists have inferred from this veto a high moral aim. But the *Taikō* has no title to such praise. When a Christian propagandist preached to him the doctrine of one consort only for one husband, he said, "Relax that restriction and I might believe your teaching." His legislation was dictated by considerations of expediency only. Naturally it proved abortive.

It is a philosophical tenet that the imagination in its first stages concentrates itself on individuals; then, by an effort of abstraction, rises to an institution or well-defined organisation; and finally grasps a moral or intellectual principle. Some analysts of Japanese character maintain that the spirit of the *bushi* belonged to the first category;

that his loyalty was not a principle observed for its own sake, but only a form of reverence or affection, primarily for his father, and secondarily for his feudal chief, whom he regarded as his father. According to that theory the *Bushi-dō* is an outcome of the doctrine of filial piety. But the river cannot rise higher than its source. If, as has been already shown, the parental tie was unhesitatingly sacrificed on the altar of feudal fealty, it is plainly unreasonable to suppose that the latter derived its inspiration from the former. History proves, by example after example, that not the occupant of the Throne but the Throne itself was an object of veneration in Japan. It proves also, and even less scrutiny is needed to detect the fact, that not the representative of a great house but the house itself commanded the leal services of the *bushi*. Again and again the individual was stripped of all authority and reduced to the position of a mere figure-head by men who were nevertheless willing to give their lives for the honour of the name he bore and the support of the family he represented. Every page of Japanese annals reveals the same spectacle, — the institution preserved, the individual ignored. And looking a little closer, it is found that the imagination of the noblest type of *bushi* fixed itself ultimately neither on the person of the chief he followed nor on the preservation of the house he served, but upon his own duty as a soldier, upon the way of the warrior (*Bushi-dō*). If he subor-

dinated the individual to the institution, so also he surrendered his own life when the institution fell, and found in "duty" (*gi*) a force that nerved him to a shocking and most painful mode of self-immolation. Civilisation has taught the Occident to believe that the suicide is insane; that moral equilibrium must have been lost before a man's hand can turn the pistol or knife against his own person. The act seems so terrible that its performance cannot be associated with sober reflection. Yet the severing of the jugular vein or the scattering of the brains brings instant release, and is therefore much easier than the *samurai's* method of comparatively slow self-torture, while in his case there can be no question of insanity. In the full possession of his senses, calmly and deliberately, he disembowelled himself, and his commonest motive was to avoid the dishonour of surviving defeat, to consummate his duty of loyalty, or to give weight to a remonstrance in the interests of virtue or the cause of the wronged. It would seem that the beginnings of this mood are to be sought in the old and barbarous institution called *junshi*, or "associated death." From whatever region of Asia the primæval Japanese came, they brought with them the custom that a sovereign or prince should be followed to the other world by those who had ministered to him on this side of the grave — his wife, his concubine, his principal servitors. The law which enforced this cruel obligation

was rescinded in the first century A. D., but the principle survived. Men and even women persuaded themselves that it was necessary to render beyond the grave the same services they had performed in life, and self-immolation at the demise of a ruler or master continued to be occasionally practised until the Nara and Heian epochs, when the nation fell into effeminate and luxurious habits inconsistent with any heroic displays of altruism. In the mean while Confucianism and Buddhism had come. Both exercised a strong influence in moulding the national character. The former especially won a high place in Japanese esteem from the first, probably because of the reverent observance it received in China, whence Japan borrowed so many models. A society founded on the "five relationships" — ruler and ruled, husband and wife, father and son, elder brother and younger brother, friend and friend — seemed the most perfect organisation within reach of human beings, and imagination could not rise to any loftier conception than that of the motives informing these relationships — authority guided by righteousness and benevolence on the part of ruler, husband, father, and elder brother; submission guided by righteousness and sincerity on the part of ruled, wife, son, and younger brother; the mutual promotion of virtue by friends. The Chinese sage inculcated the duty of sincerity or fidelity, but did not indicate the manner of discharging it. There

EXAMPLES OF JAPANESE FLOWER ARRANGEMENTS.

the Japanese *samurai* derived a rule from his own ancient custom of self-sacrifice. The moral principle was Chinese; the heroic practice, Japanese. Confucius further taught contempt for money, and that part of his teaching, taken in conjunction with Mencius' doctrine that extravagance is fatal to discipline, appealed strongly to the *bushi*. It was from these two philosophers, also, that the Japanese learned to set the institution above the individual. What Confucius had drafted in outline, Mencius compiled in detail; namely, that while the right to rule is of divine origin, the title of the ruler depends on his personal character and his conduct of affairs; and that if he fail to establish such a title, he should be removed by a member of his own family, or by one of his chief officials, or by a "minister of heaven." The guiding principles of the *bushi's* practice are here easily recognised. The nobler portion of those principles commanded little obedience amid the usurpations and extravagances of the Court nobility, but when the foundations of military feudalism began to be laid, the five relationships and the duties connected with them acquired a new value from the strength and security they conferred on the provincial organisations. Then, again, the old custom of "associated death" was revived. Men sacrificed themselves, sometimes singly, sometimes in hundreds, in order to accompany a liege lord beyond the grave to continue in the other world the ser-

vices rendered in this. Everywhere in Japan the cemeteries bear witness to that extraordinary spirit of devotion: the tomb of the chieftain stands surrounded by humbler sepulchres of faithful vassals who refused to survive him. The practice remained in vogue until the middle of the seventeenth century, and would probably have survived until the *Meiji* Restoration had not the Tokugawa Viceregents employed all their influence and authority to check it. Iyeyasu, and after him Iyetsuna, issued proclamations embodying the doctrine that the duty of the *samurai* required him not to court death for the sake of ministering to a departed chief, but to remain in life for the sake of serving his successor. "Sorrow for the dead, service for the living,"—that was the new creed.[1]

Something more, however, than a profound conception of duty was needed to nerve the *bushi* for sacrifices such as he seems to have been always ready to make. It is true that parents took pains to familiarise their children of both sexes from very tender years with the idea of self-destruction at any time. The little boy was taught how the sword should be directed against his bosom; the little girl how the dagger must be held so as to pierce the throat; both grew up in constant fellowship with the conviction that suicide must be reckoned among the natural incidents of every-day existence. But superadded

[1] See Appendix, note 39.

to the force of education and the incentive of tradition there was a transcendental influence. Buddhism supplied it. The tenets of that creed divide themselves, broadly speaking, into two doctrines, salvation by faith and salvation by works, and the chief exponent of the latter principle is the Zen sect, which prescribes "meditation" (*zazen*) as the vehicle of enlightenment. The student here approaches ground where the sceptic will refuse to follow; yet it is ground that has been trodden by countless feet through numerous generations, and no rational man can deny all validity to the testimony of so many disciples. At first, according to the evidence of devotees, the hours devoted to meditation in the ordained position bring to the imagination only a succession of mundane images. But gradually this chain of rambling thoughts grows more and more tenuous, until at last its links cease to be visible, the state of "absorption" supervenes, and the mind is flooded by an illumination which reveals the universe in a new aspect, absolutely free from all traces of passion, interest, or affection, and shows written across everything in flaming letters the truth that for him who has found Buddha there is neither birth nor death, growth nor decay. Lifted high above his surroundings, he is prepared to meet every fate with indifference. Whatever analysis psychologists may apply to this mental condition, its attainment seems to have been a fact in the case of the *bushi* of the

Military epoch and to be a fact in the case of the Japanese soldier to-day, producing in the former readiness to look calmly in the face of any form of death, and in the latter a high type of patriotic courage.

Chapter VI

REFINEMENTS AND PASTIMES OF THE MILITARY EPOCH

THE art of landscape gardening made much progress during the Military epoch. It is a strange juxtaposition of terms — "landscape gardening" and "military epoch," — but the reader will see, before he closes this chapter of the nation's history, that contemporaneously with the development of the swords' supremacy there grew up certain refinements of life to which the spirit of the soldier might have been expected to be altogether antipathetic. The profuse application of pictorial and glyptic art to purposes of interior decoration is one of these incongruous features; the elaboration of landscape gardening is a second, and others will be presently noted, the whole suggesting that these tranquil pastimes and gentle pursuits were necessary refuges from the perpetual turbulence and violence of the time, and that in proportion as men had to occupy themselves with battle and bloodshed, they instinctively turned to any pursuit tending to redress the moral balance.

Already in the Heian epoch, as shown in a previous chapter, the designing of parks with miniature lakes, islands, and rockeries, occupied a prominent place in aristocratic attention. Some successful attempts were also made to reproduce natural landscapes and waterscapes within the limits of a mansion's enclosure. But the art was still in a comparatively conventional stage, not having broken away from the trammels of its Chinese origin. It was reserved for the men of the Military age not merely to extend the limits of the art enormously, but also to convert it into something like an exact science, codifying its principles and imparting allegorical significance to every part of its practice. Originally the scheme of a garden was worked out by a pictorial artist, consulting his own instinct of beauty in strict subordination to general rules. But, by and by, the Buddhist monks began to acquire a monopoly of skill. That was a natural result. Never from the first had a Buddhist temple been erected in Japan without most careful consideration of its surroundings. Its congruity with the environing landscape, its contrasts or agreements with the features of its approaches, the adaptation of its grounds to the "points" of their vicinity, — all these things were thought out with the utmost care, and the delightful impression produced by Buddhist edifices is due as much to this harmonising of art and nature as to any grace and grandeur of the struc-

tures' proportions or any wealth of decoration. In the beginning of the thirteenth century the first treatise on the subject appeared from the pen of Yoshitsune Gokyogoku. On the form of park hitherto associated with the "bed-chamber" style of architecture he grafted certain precepts laid down by the Buddhists for arranging rockery stones, and he also indicated, as applicable to the whole, the Taoist doctrine of the active and passive principles. As to this latter canon, it was nothing but a mysteriously stated formula of balance. Nature has made everything in pairs, the dominant and the dominated, the male and the female, and in following nature's guidance, as was above all things essential, that universal law had to be carefully observed. Gokyogoku's work was a kind of grammar of park planning. By giving to everything a definition, he invested it with a motive, and for expressing the various motives general rules, many of them purely conventional, were laid down. A lake had to take the outline of a tortoise or a crane. An island might be a mountain, a field, a strip of seashore, a cloud in the distance, a morning mist, a sandy beach, a floating pine, or the bank of a stream. A waterfall was either full-face or profile, fragmentary or complete, uniform or stepped, corner or side, single, double, or threaded. A stream, if it ran from east to south and then west, was regular; if it flowed from west to east, it was inverse. If it did not rise in a lake, a country

path should be associated with it to suggest a distant origin, or a mountain to suggest a spring, or a rockery to suggest a concealed font. There was also a waterfall landscape which called for certain salient features. All this was greatly elaborated by a monk called Soseki, who worked many of the moral precepts of the Zen sect into the fabric of his landscape; and ultimately, in the second half of the fifteenth century, the artist priest Soami extended the system so greatly and added so many subtle conceptions that he is often spoken of as the father of landscape gardening in Japan. Setting out by enumerating and defining twelve principal varieties of landscape and waterscape, he proceeded to indicate the constituents of each and their derivations. Thus, in rockeries he placed sea and river stones; plain and mountain stones; current stones and wave stones, stones that divide a stream, stones from which it flows, and stones against which it breaks; stones for standing beside; detached stones; erect stones and prostrate stones; water-fowl-feather-drying stones; mandarin-duck stones; three-Buddha stones, and *sutra* stones. Then of islands there was the wind-beaten or salt-strewn isle, which had neither moss nor rock because it represented a spot swept by constant sand-showers; there was a central island, or isle of elysium, to which no bridge led since it lay in mid-ocean; there was the wave-beaten island, the tide-lapped island, the guest

island, and the host island. To Soami also was due the conception of the shore of the "spread sand" and the shore of the "piled sand," and his indications as to cascades, streams, trees, and shrubs are voluminous. Many of the ideas that a landscape was supposed to convey were purely subjective. Thus, in the park of the Silver Pavilion of Yoshimasa, which was laid out by Soami, there were scenes and features called the landscape of the "law of the waters," the landscape of the "sound of the stream," the landscape of the "essence of incense," the landscape of the "gate of the dragon," the "bridge of the mountain genii," the "vale of the golden sands," the "hill that faces the moon," and so on, several of which names have reference to Buddhist doctrines, and owe their appropriateness to an arbitrary association of ideas. Indeed, if it were necessary to indicate the chief difference between the parks of Japan and the parks of Europe, perhaps the truest formula would be that whereas the latter are planned solely with reference to a geometrical scheme of comeliness, or in pure and faithful obedience to nature's indications, the former are intended to appeal to some particular mood or to evoke some special emotion, while, at the same time, preserving a likeness to the landscapes and seascapes of the world about us. The two systems might also be described as the prose and the poetry of garden-making, respectively. The Japanese pays more

attention to the spirit, the European to the form. Efforts to compose poetry in such a medium sometimes betrayed the composer into apparent extravagances and arbitrary analogies. Not always able to resolve into an exact alphabet the subtle language in which nature couches her suggestions, he manufactured an alphabet of his own, and ascribed to each letter a value which it possessed only in this artificial vocabulary. If history, tradition, or fiction has invested a certain scene with indelible memories of a glorious pageant, a pathetic tragedy, or a delightful incident, it is easy to foretell that a transcript of that scene will move the beholder to a triumphant, a sorrowful, or a joyous mood. But if without the aid of such well-emphasised association it is sought to secure special interpretations for particular scenes, then the artist must either invent a code to guide the interpreter, or leave the results of his art largely to chance. It was thus that there grew up about landscape gardening in Japan a species of written religion, often embodying beautiful and purely æsthetic principles, but frequently making incursions into the regions of myth, superstition, and petty conventionalism. It may justly be called a "religion," because, while it appeals, on the one hand, to some of human nature's highest moods, it prescribes, on the other, sanctions and vetoes which derive their force solely from supernaturalism. When from the contemplation of some exquisite landscape

copied for his pleasure by years of costly toil, the rich aristocrat passes to the presence of a lowly peasant's cot and its rustic surroundings, reproduced with strict fidelity in some corner of his spacious park, he can scarcely fail to draw from the contrast its proper lesson of charity and tolerance; or when the beauties of a fair landscape are invoked to lend attractions to some high moral ideal; or even when, as an able writer puts it,[1] "obedience to laws of balance, contrast and continuity in line, form, mass, and colour, applied to the component parts of gardens, is enforced through the medium of precepts found in obsolete philosophies," the better aspects of the cult are seen. But when it has recourse to the doctrines of the Book of Changes or the terrors of demonology to obtain compliance with its canons, it assumes the character of a degraded religion. There is, however, very little room to find fault with the garden-making cult of Japan. Its results are invariably beautiful and æsthetically correct by whatever processes they are reached, and though the interest of the story they tell is much enhanced by intelligent study of the language in which it is written, their charms are palpable to the most superficial observer. Nature's masterpieces are reproduced and her principles applied with loving fidelity. From the gracefully spreading margins of lakes, or out of valleys between harmoniously contoured hills, rise rockeries,

[1] See Appendix, note 40.

sometimes of colossal dimensions, providing paths for cascades or imparting mystery to the shadows of overhanging trees; and from grassy parterres massive boulders thrust strangely streaked or curiously shaped shoulders, adding notes of colour and suggestions of rude grandeur to the landscape. These rocks are free from offensive traces of artificiality. They are so skilfully disposed that they seem to have grown old in their places, and while their massive and reposeful effects are carefully preserved, all harshness of outline is relieved by nestling mosses or billowy shrubs and bushes. There is scarcely any limit to the sums expended on laying out these pleasure-grounds and on their up-keep. Huge rocks are transported from great distances,— rocks honeycombed by the beating of ocean waves; rocks smelted into quaint forms by the furnaces of volcanoes; rocks hollowed and gnarled by the teeth of torrents; petrifactions from the depths of inland seas, and richly tinted masses from mineral districts,— all these are sought for and treasured as a dilettante in Europe or America prizes the contents of his picture gallery. To produce in miniature celebrated landscapes or waterscapes, years are devoted to searching for counterparts of their components, or to training trees and shrubs in facsimile of the originals planted there by nature. In one of the celebrated parks of Tōkyō — a gem which, rough-hewed by old-time experts with resources

as unlimited as their skill, and polished by four cycles of changing seasons, was destroyed in as many months during the iconoclastic era that followed the Restoration of 1867 — the thirty-six views seen by travellers on the "Eastern Sea Road" between Tōkyō and Kyōtō, were copied so faithfully that to make the circuit of the park was to travel from one capital to the other. In many parks the "Eight Views of Omi Lake" are depicted. Sometimes models are borrowed from a poet's conception of supernatural beauties, as the isles of Elysium or the mountains of paradise. Sometimes dells or nooks of special beauty are consecrated to the memory of great philosophers or sanctified by shrines to tutelary deities. And every component of the scene — rock, shrubbery, hill, or valley, even each fence or lantern — has its distinguishing appellation and approved shape.

This extraordinary elaboration to which the art has been carried deserves consideration. It has already been said that landscape gardening is reduced almost to an exact science in Japan, and that though nature is supposed to be the teacher, the symbols she uses to convey her instruction, being interpreted by human intelligence, frequently assume arbitrary and conventional forms. From that point of view they may be compared to the mannerisms which, while they are not without a value of their own, often mar the purity of an accomplished author's

style. The fact is, however, that the Japanese designer of a landscape garden, like the Japanese painter of a picture, never admits the possibility of obtaining photographic realism, which the Western artist, on the contrary, constantly strives to reach. The principle followed by the Japanese is that certain features only can be represented with the means and appurtenances at command of human skill, and that it is the artist's duty to select those features justly and to express them intelligibly. By long and careful observation he has discovered, or thinks that he has discovered, what may be called the æsthetic instincts of nature's operations, as displayed in the growth of trees, or the contours and grouping of hills, or the modelling and association of rocks, or the flow and spread of water; and he undertakes not only to depict those instincts by object lessons but also to formulate them in a grammar. Two results are noticeable: first, that his emphasis of special features is sometimes exaggerated to the verge of grotesqueness; secondly, that by the elaborateness of his terminology and the minuteness of his codes he seems to have lost himself in profusion while straining after selection. Thus, though the landscape gardener in Europe attaches little importance to rocks except as materials for building a grotto or constructing a bed for ferns or mosses, the Japanese gardener considers the shape and size of every rock and boulder with reference to the scale of his plan and the nature of the

trees and shrubs he has to use, and recognises "one hundred and thirty-eight principal stones and rocks having special names and functions, in addition to others of secondary importance."[1] There are some fifty stones that bear the names of Buddhist saints, and have their appropriate positions and inter-relations in monastery gardens; there are five radical rock-shapes, which may be combined, two, three, four, or even five at a time; and there are broad divisions of hill stones, lake and river stones, cascade stones, island stones, valley stones, tea-garden stones, stepping-stones and water-basin stones, with their ninety-one subdivisions and their various orthodox groupings. In stone lanterns twenty-three specially designated shapes are found, and in water-basins thirteen, while for each form of lantern or basin there is an appropriate accompaniment of rocks, stones, shrubs, and trees. Fences, gates, and bridges, again, constitute a special branch of the art. Hundreds of varieties have been designed and have received the approval of great masters, and the skilled landscape-gardener knows which of these will best consort with a given environment, and how to make a delightful picture of grace, rusticity, cosiness, and warmth out of materials which from the hands of a tyro would emerge commonplace and uninteresting. Even wells have their gradus, and many volumes have been devoted to the discussion and delinea-

[1] See Appendix, note 41.

tion of bridges, arbours, lakes, rivers, cascades, and islands. It need scarcely be said that trees, shrubs, bushes, plants, and flowers are an extensive study. Here the Japanese have exercised their fidelity of observation with results that cannot be too much admired. They have learned to train each variety of tree and trim each kind of bush so that the most beautiful features of its natural growth shall be emphasised without being distorted; or, to use the language of Mr. J. Conder, that sympathetic and accurate student of Japanese æsthetics, they have developed "conspicuous ability in seizing upon the fundamental and characteristic qualities of natural forms, and creating a sort of shorthand, or contracted representation, for decorative purposes." It is true that this art sometimes degenerates into license. The forms that a tree or a shrub may be forced to assume are taken as models rather than the forms that its unrestrained growth suggests. But such abuses are the exception. As a rule the gardener only interprets and gives prominence to nature's intentions, fixing the beauties that vegetation would develop were the process of selection governed by artistic factors only, instead of being disturbed by unfavourable conditions of soil or surroundings. Trees and shrubs that have been thus trained and tended by him from generation to generation are objects of delightful comeliness, and, when examined closely, are found not only to have been kept in constant harmony with the

finest types of their kind, but also to have been restrained from developing dimensions incongruous with their surroundings. For the Japanese gardener is not more particular about the shapes and grouping of his materials than about the general scale of the scene they produce, the aspects from which they have to be viewed, and the nature of their surroundings. It would be shocking if the trees and shrubs in a garden of limited area had the dimensions they attain in a primeval forest or on a trackless moor, and it would be crude and unsatisfactory if their size could be regulated only by the stages of their natural growth. Hence one of the gardener's important functions is to limit the stature of trees and, at the same time, to make them assume all the features of maturity and unrestrained vigour; a task demanding large endowment of the sense of proportion and comparison and its high training.

To this part of the subject belongs the art of miniature landscape-gardening, which also received great development in the Military epoch. The principles and rules of practice mentioned above apply to this art with undiminished force, but the scale of construction is reduced so that a landscape or waterscape, accurate in all details and having all its parts perfectly balanced, is produced within an area of two or three square feet. China gave this conception to Japan. A Chinese poet, constantly quoted by the devotees of the art, says that "it induces serenity of tem-

per; fills the heart with love; makes a cheerful countenance; dispels drowsiness; banishes evil passions; teaches the changes of plants and trees; brings distant landscapes close; gives journeyless access to mountain-caves, sea-beaten shores, and cool grottos, and shows the procession of ages without decay." But it must be confessed that these miniature landscapes have a toy character which interferes with appreciation of their beauties. One can easily recognise the consummate skill displayed in bringing all their parts into exact proportion with the scale of the design. But there is always a suggestion of triviality which mars the effect. None the less they have the undoubted merit of lightening the life of the student or the humble tradesman, since they give him the constant companionship of a fair garden such as would otherwise be beyond his reach. They are usually arranged in trays of pottery, porcelain, or bronze, each tiny tree and bush carefully trained, and each pebble showing the features of the rock it is intended to represent.

Associated with miniature gardening is the art of growing trees in pots, which also may be said to have attained the rank of a national pastime from the Muromachi era; or, speaking more accurately, from the close of the fifteenth century. It is not suggested that the practice of dwarfing trees and shrubs by confining their roots in pots had not been inaugurated long before the days when the Ashikaga dilettante carried

the æsthetic cult to extravagant lengths in Kyōtō. But it had not attracted special attention prior to that time, nor given any indications of the extraordinary proportions it was destined ultimately to attain. Something of the impulse it then received must be attributed to the contemporaneous development of keramic skill which marked the epoch. The pot itself began to rank as an object of art, and to take shapes, sizes, and colours which, by suggesting new possibilities of harmony between the receptacle and its contents, encouraged new conceptions on the part of the tree-trainer. Thenceforth the *bonsai* (potted shrub) became a specialty of the Japanese gardener, and the worship of the cult is perhaps more fervent among the upper classes to-day than it ever was. There is only one canon of practice, and only one test of perfection: the tree or shrub, though but five or six inches in height, must be, in everything save dimensions, an absolute facsimile of what it would have been had it grown for cycles unrestrained in the forest: must have the same spread of bough in proportion to girth of trunk; the same girth of trunk in proportion to height; the same set of branch, gnarling of stem, and even symptoms of decrepitude. To be able to place upon the alcove-shelf one of the monsters of the forest in miniature, and to receive from it unerring suggestions of the broad moor, the mossy glade, the play of shadow and sunlight, the voice of the distant waterfall, and the sound of the wind in

the tree-tops, — that is the ideal of the disciple of the cult. Each pigmy tree must tell faithful stories of the landscape among which its giant representative lives and dies. It would seem at first sight that this canon can never be applied to the foliage; that there the art is foiled; for though the trunk may be dwarfed and the branch stunted, the leaf must always attain its natural size. Such is not the case. By accurately regulating the tree's diet of water, its foliage, too, may be reduced to dimensions exactly proportionate to its stature, and thus the delusion becomes complete in every detail. There may be differences of opinion as to whether the decades and cycles of unremitting labour and attention required to bring nature's processes into such precise control are justified by results, but there can be no doubt that to sacrifice the art on the altar of economy would be to rule a delightful element out of the life of the nation. Many a Japanese statesman or man of affairs, when he finds himself in the presence of his treasured collection of *bonsai*, can pass from the troubled realm of political squabbles and business cares to the imaginary contemplation of quiet rustic scenes and tranquil landscapes, and can refresh his tired brain by realistic visions of nature's peaceful solitudes.

It may well be supposed that the art of interpreting and emphasising the æsthetics of vegetation finds its extreme development in the training of the *bonsai*, and that the attempt to give full

expression within such narrow limits often tends to exaggeration or even grotesqueness. Thus, on first acquaintance with the products of the art, one is disposed to denounce some of them as monstrosities. But it may safely be asserted that the fault is generally subjective. In every branch of Japanese æsthetics a multitude of conventions, evolved from infinitely painstaking study of nature's methods, and stamped with the cachet of great masters in bygone times, have passed into a revelation from which no one ventures to take away an alpha or an omega. Intelligent sympathy with the spirit that dictated these conventions cannot survive slavish obedience to their laws, and it may not be denied that some of these dwarfed trees and shrubs show the mechanics of the art without its genius. But when that seems to be the case with a specimen which has obtained the sanction of two or three generations of connoisseurs, its faithfulness to some freak of nature can be taken for granted, since although hyperbole of type or abuse of convention may be temporarily permitted, such solecisms cannot pass current for any length of time among people like the Japanese. A stranger must be careful, therefore, before he condemns as unnatural in Japan everything which offends his own sense of nature's methods. Eloquence of orthodox form is probably there if his faculties were trained to recognise it.

The object of this book being to trace the

growth of Japan's civilisation through the historical stages of her existence, it should be noted that, in strict accuracy, the above developments of landscape gardening and its correlated arts do not belong entirely to the Military epoch. But the additions that were made to these refinements under the Tokugawa epoch, which succeeded the Military, are not sufficient to require special discussion. Virtually all the principles destined to guide subsequent devotees of the art were conceived and coded in the closing days of the Ashikaga Shōgunate, and though landscape gardening in Yedo during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries reached a scale of grandeur and elaboration such as had never previously been witnessed, these splendid results were not new departures, but only extended applications of the science.

The characteristic, though not by any means the unique, type of garden affected during the Military epoch was dictated by the canons of the *Cha-no-yu* cult. *Cha-no-yu* literally signifies "hot water for tea," a title which assumes almost offensive simplicity when contrasted with the extraordinary complexity and subtlety of the practices it designates. The *Cha-no-yu* garden bears to the great park of princely palace or nobleman's mansion much the same relation as an impressionist sketch bears to a highly finished representative picture. The chambers where the Tea Ceremonial is carried on are specially con-

structed in strict accord with rules inspired by principles of severe simplicity and rustic chasteness. Their proportions are of the smallest; their framework of the frailest, and their furniture of the scantiest. It is necessary that the gardens surrounding them should be of a similar character. For in laying out a Japanese garden no principle is more carefully observed than that there should be thorough congruity between the scenic scheme and the nature of the edifice from which it is contemplated. So studious, indeed, is the designer's attention to this canon that he will even vary the nature of a garden's parts so as to suit the different sections of the edifice it surrounds; a fact which becomes more intelligible when we remember that a Japanese house is often divided into several virtually independent blocks connected by covered passages, and that each block has its own individuality. The *Cha-no-yu* garden, then, having for its basis an edifice which is little more than a suggestion of a dwelling, and being intended for the contemplation of men who live in a world of impressions and abstractions rather than of realities and facts, is itself a mere sketch, suggesting landscapes, not portraying them. The semblance of a mountain moor is conveyed by some of the shrubs and grasses that grow on its expanse; a lake is implied by a few of its marginal rocks and overarching trees; special rivers are shown by the flowers for whose bloom their banks are cele-

brated, and a sea-beach is sketched by a mound of sand and a stunted pine. There is also a favourite style of *Cha-no-yu* garden which may be called a studied wilderness. Trees and shrubs are encouraged to grow in rustic confusion, so that, viewed from the veranda of the pavilion, nature is seen in her fresh and least artificial mood. Of course these austere canons are frequently departed from. Sometimes the designer of a *Cha-no-yu* garden follows the principle that if only he works in miniature, he may fill in all the details of the picture and make it perfectly representative. Exquisite gems of gardens on a tiny scale have thus been produced, but it need scarcely be said that the solecism is never perpetrated of associating these finished efforts of art with the essentially inornate style of *Cha-no-yu* edifice. Some pavilions intended for the practice of the tea ceremonial, though of dimensions restricted in careful obedience to rule, are constructed with materials of the rarest and costliest nature, and it would be absurd to lay out the grounds of such edifices in the sketchy, rude style of the classic system.

The Tea Ceremonial is a conspicuous example of the radical modification that many customs, derived from abroad, underwent in Japanese hands. Its embryo came from China, but its full-grown conventions as practised by the Japanese would not be recognised in the land of their origin. Great interest attaches to it, not

only because its popularity dates from the Military epoch, when a pastime so essentially effeminate ought to have been quite incongruous with the spirit of the time, but also because it constitutes a mirror in which the extraordinary elaborateness of Japanese social etiquette may be seen vividly reflected.

A coarse variety of the tea-plant appears to have existed in Japan from time immemorial, but its properties did not receive popular recognition until the twelfth century, when Eisai, a priest of the Zen sect of Buddhism, travelling to China for the purpose of studying the methods of propagandism which had brought the doctrine of religious meditation into wide favour there, learned immediately the value attached to the leaf and was informed of the nine virtues it possessed. He carried back with him to Japan a book of directions for the culture and curing of tea, together with a jar of choice seed, and from that time the beverage came into favour among the upper classes. During more than a hundred years, however, the fine leaf was so rare and so highly prized that a small quantity of it, enclosed in a little jar of pottery, used to be given to warriors as a reward for deeds of special prowess, and the fortunate recipients assembled their relatives and friends to partake of the precious gift. The ceremony observed on these occasions might be described as tea-tasting rather than tea-drinking. Several plantations of tea had been formed

in different provinces, and the leaf produced at each was supposed to vary in quality, incomparably the best being that grown at Tagano-o, where the seed brought by Eisai from China had been sowed. Upon these differences the social function was based, the conception having been borrowed from an older form of refined amusement, namely, discriminating between the perfumes of various incenses. The "teacup test" was that most commonly applied. Three varieties of tea having been divided into four parts each, one cup made from each group was tasted with the object of furnishing three standards. Then to the nine remaining parts a tenth was added, this last receiving the name of "guest," inasmuch as, though tasted with the rest, it had to be spared the rudeness of classification. It will be observed that there were now ten parts. Cups brewed from them were next handed to the convives, who displayed the delicacy of their palates by determining with which of the three standards each cup should be classed. In the eyes of a Japanese *samurai* the triviality of this pastime was relieved by two facts: first, that it came from China, whence all ethical pleasures were derived; secondly, that it had the sanction of the Zen sect of Buddhists, whose tenets were regarded as the essence of a warrior's creed. The first evidence of slavish obedience to precedent, which is certainly one of the tendencies educated by the cult, was furnished in

the fourteenth century, when the nine horizontal rings of *shakudo*,— a metal composed of copper, silver, and a small quantity of gold,— enriching the finial of the Ten-no-ji pagoda, were taken down and used for casting tea-urns, by order of a military chief. Thenceforth a pagoda ring became the orthodox material for a tea-urn, and it is said that among more than a hundred pagodas in the provinces of Izumi and Kawachi, not one escaped having its rings stripped off. The pastime of tea-tasting was now so popular that every street in the two capitals — Kyōtō and Kamakura — had a shop for the sale of tea-utensils, and the store-keeper sat among his wares calling out, "Won't you condescend to want a cup of tea?"

But the *Cha-no-yu* had not yet developed its distinctive features, or acquired anything of the immense influence it afterwards exercised socially and æsthetically. Yoshimasa, the eighth of the Ashikaga *Shōguns*, was the patron of the new departure. He did not himself originate anything, but being a ruler whose unlimited lavishness of expenditure on objects of beauty attracted the attention of the entire nation, and produced a wave of æstheticism that swept through the whole country, his devotion to the *Cha-no-yu* brought it at once into prominence. The deviser of the extraordinarily detailed system of etiquette and labyrinth of observances that now became associated with tea-drinking, and the

author of the philosophy that grew up about it, was Shukô, a prelate of the Zen sect of Buddhism. Shukô being an ardent believer in the rite of religious meditation which his creed prescribed, his affection for tea, prepared according to the new method, seems to have been primarily derived from its property of promoting wakefulness, and thus assisting him to practise the rite through long intervals. Gradually this adjunct of his reverent exercises became associated in his mind with the moral conditions they produced. He conceived that a great influence for good might be exerted by employing the *Cha-no-yu* as a vehicle for the direct promotion of a system resembling that of religious meditation and introspection, and for the indirect inculcation of the virtues attributed by the Zen creed to such exercises. It was thus that he elaborated for the practice of tea-drinking a ceremonial of the most minute and formal description. From an Occidental point of view perhaps the most intelligible explanation that can be given of Shukô's cult is to call it the Free Masonry of Japan. Free Masonry has for its sole object the inculcation of the most beautiful and comprehensive of all virtues, but its rituals, its rites, its ceremonials, its mysteries, its paraphernalia, and its costumes hide from the outside public the true spirit of its aims. The *Cha-no-yu* has fared similarly. Its esoteric philosophy has been obscured by its exoteric observances. The

inventors of both cults showed profound knowledge of human nature, for they saw that in order to popularise a system of high morality it must be associated with ceremonies that appeal to a comparatively low range of feelings. Four cardinal virtues constituted the basis of Shukô's system: they were urbanity, courtesy, purity, and imperturbability (*ka-kei-sei-jaku*), this last including repose of manner, a prime essential of polite intercourse.

Before considering the exoteric side of the cult, a word must be said about its history. If to Shukô belongs the credit of conceiving the system, the Ashikaga *Shōgun* Yoshimasa was the means of bringing it at once into prominence. On his retirement from public life (1472), this singular man devoted himself almost exclusively to æsthetic pursuits, and by the advice of three great artists, Noami, Geami, and Soami, who stood high in his favour, he sought the acquaintance of Shukô, then known chiefly as a connoisseur of painting and an expert in the art of "flower-setting." Shukô seized the occasion to obtain a powerful patron for his special cult, and Yoshimasa, charmed by the novelty as well as the quaint grace of the conception, espoused it vigorously. He had just planned his celebrated Silver Pavilion, and he added to it the first "tea chamber" ever built in Japan, calling it *Shukô-an*, after its deviser, and writing the name with his own hand on a tablet which was placed

over the door. At once the *Cha-no-yu* obtained wide vogue among the aristocracy. They found in it, just as Shukô had hoped, an element of gentle asceticism gratifying to the conscience, and a charm of method appealing to the most refined taste. It seemed, in fact, to bring within easy reach of fashionable dilettante the virtues which the *samurai* cultivated by the severe discipline of religious meditation; while to the *samurai*, on the other hand, it disclosed a vista of refined graces without any apparent concession to the vices of self-indulgence or effeminacy. For the tendency of the cult was to combine æsthetic eclecticism of the most fastidious nature with the severest canons of simplicity and austerity. As each disciple of the system sat in a tiny chamber, its dimensions and furniture conforming with rigid rules, handled utensils of rude type, and looked out on a garden where the wild and rustic features of nature were prominent, he seemed to himself to be a kind of social anchorite eschewing every form of luxury or ostentation, but at the same time cultivating artistic tastes which differentiated him agreeably from the vulgar and the uninitiated. The aristocrat and the soldier thus came together on a common plane, and if the *blasé* sybarite, Yoshimasa, found something delightful in the cult, the jovial soldier, Nobunaga, and the splendid strategists and statesmen, Hideyoshi (the *Taikō*) and Tokugawa Iyeyasu, patronised and practised it with equal ardour. Its

greatest master, the man who has been placed by the unanimous acclaim of posterity on the highest pinnacle of the craft, was the ill-fated *Sen-no-Rikiu*, who, obedient to the spirit that directed the policy of his patron Hideyoshi, the Aristarchus as well as the Cæsar of Japanese history, added many features of simplicity and economy to the ceremonial, so that it ceased to be limited to the aristocracy and was brought within reach of the middle classes. There have been in four centuries only six acknowledged high-priests of the cult: Shukô, who initiated the Ashikaga ruler, Yoshimasa; Jô-ô, who taught the principles of the cult to Nobunaga; Sen-no-Rikiu, preceptor of the *Taikō;* Furuta *Oribe-no-jo*, who initiated Hidetada, the second Tokugawa *Shōgun;* Kobori *Yenshu-no-Kami*, who performed the same office for the third of the Tokugawa rulers, Iyemitsu; and Katakiri *Iwami-no-Kami*, the teacher of Tokugawa Iyetsuna.

In the tea pavilion devised by Shukô, the principal chamber was nine feet square, with an alcove which measured six feet by three. The pavilion was roofed with shingles, and the guest-chamber was ceiled with a single board of finely grained timber. The walls were covered with monochromatic paper having a wrinkled surface, and the tea utensils were arranged in set order on a movable cabinet (*daisu*). The hearth was a foot and a half square, and over it was placed an iron urn chased in low relief. Jô-ô, the immediate

successor of Shukô, while preserving the dimensions fixed by the latter, substituted plaster for paper on the walls, reduced the number of articles in the tea equipage, and caused the door to be made of bamboo instead of boards. He also introduced the custom of placing the tea equipage in a cupboard instead of on a cabinet, and of hanging the urn by a chain from the ceiling instead of supporting it over the hearth on a tripod. This simplified form of room subsequently came to be called the "Chain Chamber," as distinguished from the more elaborate pavilion of Shukô. By Sen-no-Rikiu further modifications were devised in the direction of homeliness. He reduced the dimensions of the tea-room from four and a half mats (a mat is six feet by three) to two and a half; caused it to be covered with a thatch of bamboo grass instead of a roof of elaborately laid shingles, and generally simplified the character of the equipage. But after his death (1591) his disciples dispersed, some abandoning altogether a cult whose greatest master had met with such a tragic fate, and some eschewing the particular fashions to which he had given his name. One man only, Sôkei, remained faithful to the principles of his teacher, and he, observing the gradual degeneration of Sen's art, and recognising his own inability to arrest its decadence, left his home, clad in pilgrim's garb, and was never heard of again. Evil days for the *Cha-no-yu* continued until the time of the Second Tokugawa Shōgun, Hidetada

(1605–1623). This ruler devoted his life to the peaceful development of the Empire, and to the fortification and adornment of the northern capital, Yedo. To him his country owes two immortal monuments of national art, the tombs and mausolea of Shiba and of Uyeno. Appreciating the nature of the *Cha-no-yu*, the Shōgun appointed Furuta, Baron of Oribe, to be Court Instructor of the cult. But the tranquillity of the era inspired a taste for luxury, and the *Cha-no-yu* observances reverted to the costly refinement of Yoshimasa rather than to the simple thrift of Sen-no-Rikiu's warlike days. Nor was this tendency corrected under the succeeding Shōgun, Iyemitsu (1623–1651), one of the most energetic and uncompromising rulers that ever governed Japan. He indeed fully recognised the social influences of the *Cha-no-yu*, and conferred the office of Court Instructor on the celebrated Kobori. But the spirit of the time did not lend itself to asceticism in any form. Private persons were too prosperous and officials too free from care to be satisfied with the austere fashions of Jô-ô and Sen-no-Rikiu. Oribe and Kobori made no resolute efforts to correct the growing epicureanism of their cult. They appear to have understood that the purpose of the office conferred on them by the Court in Edo was rather to popularise than to purify the fashions of the *Cha-no-yu*. Thus, when one of Kobori's friends devised new models for both the tea pavilion and

its furniture, Kobori, by openly approving the inventor's taste and ingenuity, helped not only to make him famous, but also to relax the austere canons of the old masters. That he did all this with open eyes is proved by his recorded reply to a critic who sought some explanation of his readiness to vary the principles of Sen-no-Rikiu: "Rikiu is the father of Japanese *Cha-no-yu*. His methods are followed to this day by every sincere disciple of the cult. They have never been equalled, though rival methods may appeal more strongly to individual tastes. Even inscriptions and certificates written by his hand rank with the autographs of sainted priests. His was one of those rare cases where a great opportunity finds an equally great man to deal with it. Furuta and I, Kobori, only endeavour to imitate Rikiu's methods, with the object of uniting into a strong brotherhood, and cultivating the friendship of, men who devote themselves to promoting the peace of society and the well-being of the nation. We cannot even claim a deep knowledge of the spirit of Rikiu's art. If we depart from the styles which he prescribed, it is not of deliberate choice, but because the manners of men must adapt themselves to the mood of their times."

But though, as years went by, fashion and fancy introduced various innovations, the general character of the Tea Ceremonial remained unchanged. Notably invariable were six rules originated by Rikiu, but reduced to writing by

his faithful disciple Sôkei. Of these, two are curiously trivial. They direct that when the guests have assembled in the waiting place, the signal for their entry to the tea pavilion shall be given by wooden clappers; and that the ablution bowl shall be kept filled with pure water. The other four precepts are very characteristic of the spirit of the cult. The first is that any guest who, having been invited to a tea *réunion*, experiences a feeling of dissatisfaction with the inadequacy of the furniture or the inelegance of the surroundings, should withdraw quietly as soon as possible, so as not to disturb the harmony of the party. The second is that all social tittle-tattle, whether of present or past times, is out of place in a tea pavilion, as it should be everywhere out of place for disciples of the cult. The third is that, however noble the host, words of flattery or deceit should be strictly interdicted; and the fourth, that a tea *réunion* ought never to last more than four hours unless some moral or chivalrous topic, demanding longer discussion, has been broached. These rules, taken in conjunction with the four cardinal qualities which each professor of the craft is bound to cultivate, indicate sufficiently clearly the nature of the *Cha-no-yu* philosophy.

But they do not give any clear indication as to the so-called mysteries of the cult; the thirteen methods that the novice had to study by way of preliminary; the five arts that were acquired by the craftsman; the "three degrees of the broad

salver," with their three varieties of "genuine," "abbreviated," and "cursive" — corresponding to the three styles of calligraphy — which the passed-master had to be familiar with. These, which, in truth, are nothing more than a multitude of conventions and ceremonials, cannot possibly be set forth in any volume of ordinary dimensions, and would be utterly wearisome to the reader. A brief general sketch will be sufficient.

The ceremony has various names according to the time of its performance. There is the "morning tea" (*asa no Cha-no-Yu*, or *ake no Cha-no-Yu*, or *asa-gomi*), which takes place at any hour between three A. M. and eight A. M. There is the evening tea (*yo-gomi*). There is the *kashi no Cha-no-Yu*, or tea with cake, which follows the morning or afternoon meal, and is thus between eight and ten o'clock in the forenoon, or between two and four o'clock in the afternoon. Then there are the casual cup (*fuji no yakusoku*), which is practically the same as the post-prandial; the mid-day cup at the hour of the Horse (noon); the "evening chat," at the hour of the Cock (from six to eight o'clock P. M.): the *atomi*, or "after glance," which is a sort of second-hand entertainment after some guest of note has departed; and finally the *kuchi-kiri*, or "firstlings," which takes place when the jar containing the new leaf is opened for the first time in the tenth month.

The phraseology employed with reference to all matters bearing on the ceremony is precisely fixed, but this part of the affair has little meaning for Westerners. It is enough to mention that one never speaks of "drinking" tea, but of "taking" it; that to "abridge" any part of the ceremony becomes to "apologise;" that all objects of art which have received the approval of the old masters are respectfully alluded to as "models;" and that in indicating dimensions the plait of a mat is used as a unit, such vulgar terms as "feet" and "inches" being carefully eschewed.

The details of carrying out the ceremony vary, but there are some general customs which scarcely permit alteration. The first care of the host is to see that the pavilion is thoroughly cleansed, and that every apparatus of an ignoble character is removed. Similar scrutiny is extended to the outer passage, which should be sprinkled lightly with pure water. A tobacco-box is then placed in the outer waiting-place, after which the condition of the inner waiting-place is attended to, and cushions, one for each guest, are there arranged. On the first day of the tenth month pine sprays are spread all over the garden, and from the first day of the first month these are taken up, little by little, commencing with the parts in the immediate vicinity of the tea pavilion. This is by way of welcoming the gradual advent of spring. At the begin-

ning of the second month the process is extended, and at the end of the third month the sprays about the outer waiting-place are entirely removed. The dust-bin is always kept covered with green leaves. In the outer waiting-place is set a ewer of white pine with a lid of red pine and a ladle of white pine, the latter being laid across the lid, mouth uppermost; if the ewer be of metal, the mouth of the ladle is turned downward. In the inner waiting-place is set a stone ewer with red pine ladle. In the outer waiting-place are two pendent lamps, one of metal, the other of wood, the latter being suspended beside the ewer. The oil vessel for these lamps is of unglazed *Fukakusa* pottery. The inner passage should have a stone lantern, with an oil-holder of the same wood as that of the wooden lamp in the waiting-place. The inner waiting-place is lit by a standing lantern (*andon*), of which the upper lid should be removed and placed against the wall, except in windy weather. Beside it are placed a wick tongs and oil ladle. At morning *réunions* the decoration of the alcove consists of pictures during the first part of the entertainment, and flowers during the second. However cold the weather and however numerous the guests, only one brazier is allowed to be placed in the outer waiting-place. Even the lining of tobacco-boxes is regulated according to their shape. Equally strict rules apply to the length of the pipe, the manner of placing it on the tobacco-

box, the colour of its stem, and the direction in which the bowl should lie with respect to boxes of different forms. The position of each guest is fixed; the construction of the windows in the tea pavilion and the material of the blinds are determined; the management of the rain-doors is in accurate accord with the season, and every article of the tea equipage has its own invariable position. All these things are the alphabet of the cult. As for the host, the routine of his behaviour is accurately prescribed. So soon as he receives word that all the guests have assembled in the outer waiting-place, he repairs to the tea pavilion, raises the ewer, and mends the fire under it; clears away the ashes; lights the incense; sweeps the mats with a small hand-brush; puts the lid of the ewer, half on, and then, seating himself before the alcove, looks carefully at the picture and other ornaments. Satisfied that everything is as it ought to be, he pours some fresh water into the ewer, and goes out to welcome the guests. In greeting them, the usual method is to kneel within the door of the pavilion and make an obeisance, but if there be a nobleman among the guests, the obeisance must be made outside. Then the host returns, leaving the door of the tea pavilion partially open. The guests, on their side, having concluded their greetings, proceed to wash their hands in the order of their rank, and then, entering the pavilion, go to the alcove, one by one, and examine the picture

hanging there. Thence they pass, in the same order, to the hearth, where they inspect the urn. In these proceedings the rule is that so soon as the principal guest reaches the threshold of the tea pavilion, the next senior goes to the ewer and washes his hands, advancing thence to the door of the pavilion so soon as he sees the senior opposite the alcove, and thence to the alcove when the senior is in the neighbourhood of the hearth. This order is observed throughout. It is the duty of the junior guest to restore the tobacco-box to its place before leaving the waiting-room, and to pile the sitting cushions one upon the other. At *réunions* where lights are used, their management is also duly regulated. The last guest has to shut the door of the pavilion, not, however, before he has performed the prescribed circuit of the room and reached his appointed place. The first subject of conversation is the picture in the alcove. When the guests have expressed their opinions about it, the host replenishes the charcoal on the hearth. The length and thickness of the sticks of charcoal are fixed with precision according to the style of the hearth. So soon as the host raises the urn to put on the charcoal, the guests approach the hearth in order and examine it as well as the urn. When a *furo* (a pottery fire-box) is used, this examination is not made until a later stage; neither does the host replenish the charcoal. He merely wipes the rim of the *furo*,

handling his cloth in a set fashion and passing it twice over the right of the *furo* and once over the left and front. He then opens the kitchen door and calls for the repast. Numerous rules apply to the minutiæ of the repast; to the conduct of the host and guests; to the manner of the latter's first retirement; to the re-arrangement of the pavilion in their temporary absence, and to their return for the second stage of the entertainment, during which the tea is served. It is made by the host in presence of his guests. No teapot is used. The tea, taken in the form of the finest powder from a little jar of choice faience, is placed at once in the drinking cup, and boiling water is then poured on it. Minute attention must be paid to the temperature of the water. A brisk fire should be used. The water gives the first indication of heat by a low, intermittent singing, and by the appearance of large, slowly rising bubbles known as "fish eyes" (*gyo-moku*). The next stage is marked by agitation like the seething of a hot spring, accompanied by a constant succession of rapidly ascending bubbles. In the next stage waves appear upon the surface, and these finally subsiding, all appearance of steam is lost. The water has now attained the condition of maturity: it is "aged hot water" (*rŏtô*). If the fire is good and well sustained, all these stages can be distinctly noted, says the canon. Then the cup, together with a neatly folded napkin, is

handed to the guests in order, each one wiping it after he has drunk, the last guest being careful to finish its contents. Thereafter the cup goes round again to be itself examined. Even in these comparatively simple operations there are numerous points of etiquette to be observed. Every part of the equipage, every article that is used, even to the charcoal and its receptacle, are separately scrutinised by the guests at strictly ordained periods of the entertainment and in regular order. The whole thing is a study: host and guest alike must be drilled by long instruction and practice. It is impossible to conceive any code of etiquette more minute and less flexible. In former days of perfect politeness it was counted a mark of pride, and even of inhospitality, to issue an ordinary invitation at long notice: men were supposed to be always ready to receive their friends. But with the *Cha-no-Yu* a different fashion was observed. Invitations were sent three or four days in advance, and were even repeated in the case of old or busy persons. On the other hand, it amounted almost to an insult did a guest fail to visit his host the day after the ceremonial. The relative importance of the guests did not necessarily depend on their rank. Under the thatched roof of the tea pavilion, such distinctions often failed to receive recognition. It is related that, during an entertainment given by Sen-no-Rikiu, a nobleman of high station arrived and asked

permission to join the party. Rikiu consented, but placed him in the lowest seat. In fact, the etiquette of the *Cha-no-Yu* had precedence of every social code.

The details here set down, elaborate and wearisome as they seem, represent only a fraction of the immense mass of minutiæ that a devotee of the cult was expected to master. But the task had its reward, for skill in the craft constituted an universally recognised certificate of refinement, and the practice of the ceremonial tended to educate serenity of mind as well as to substitute a placid atmosphere of æstheticism and graceful courtesy for the storm of fierce ambitions and feudal struggles that had long swept over the country. The *Cha-no-Yu* never had more zealous patron than the *Taikō*. In October, 1585, he organised a grand *réunion* in the Kitano Pine Forest. It lasted for ten days, and instead of sending invitations to selected individuals, the *Taikō* caused placards to be posted not only in Kyōtō but also in the distant towns of Nara and Sakai, announcing that every lover of the *cha-dō* (tea-path) would be welcome, and that all would be free to erect temporary pavilions according to their fancy. During this fête, which became a historical event, the *Taikō* went from pavilion to pavilion, viewing the objects of *virtu* that formed part of the tea equipage of each owner, and showing the keenest interest in everything connected with the ceremonial.

The æsthetic influence of the tea cult was even more remarkable, perhaps, than its social or philosophical aspect. Every man of refinement or opulence may be said to have been a *cha-jin*, and every *cha-jin* was, of necessity, a virtuoso of greater or less skill. A collection of art-objects soon came to signify simply a tea equipage so extensive as to offer constant novelties to the connoisseurs who from time to time were bidden to the pavilion, and so choice that each specimen might safely endure the ordeal of close examination by parties of skilled connoisseurs. Nothing faulty or spurious could survive such ordeals, — that is to say, nothing faulty or spurious from the point of view of the tea clubs. This reservation is necessary, because the tea clubs had two distinct and altogether dissimilar points of view. One of their canons prescribed an artistic standard of the highest excellence, though never sanctioning anything florid or meretricious; another passed to the opposite extreme of homeliness, and established rules of taste which attached no value whatever to elegance of form, perfection of technique or beauty of design, but bade the true virtuoso look first for qualities owing their value solely to association and appreciable by courtesy only. This second variety of objects, an extensive class, received from the irreverent an appropriate title, "rusty things" (*sabi-mono*). They were strictly and logically true to the

esoterics of the cult, their redeeming points being entirely of the impressionist order and their qualities having reference solely to the moral attributes that the tea philosophy sought to inculcate. Perhaps in the whole range of Japanese characteristics there is none so perplexing to a foreign observer as this phase of æsthetics. Yet the riddle is resolved at once when the "rusty things" are considered not exoterically but esoterically; not as specimens of art but as symbols of a cult. Many of them are indescribably ugly. Never intended to be choice productions, they present gross technical defects, which very defects constitute merits in the eyes of a *Cha-jin*. Blisters resulting from excessive heat in the potter's kiln become marks of special manufacture; solutions of continuity in the glaze of a porcelain vessel are prized evidences of a certain era; deformity of shape is a natural caprice; absence of every outwardly attractive quality typifies unpretentious utility, and accidents of decoration suggest freedom from artifical regularity. These homely failures survived originally by tolerance. Some of them had even been thrown into the refuse heap before the *Cha-jin* picked them up and consecrated them to his cult, wrapping them in silk crape or rich brocade, repairing their fractures with gold lacquer, and enclosing them in boxes of the finest and costliest workmanship. Evidently this phase of the tea cult offered no encouragement to the progress of the

fine arts, for it discredited everything elaborate or beautiful. Korean porcelain and pottery, inferior at their best and worthless at their worst, were particularly prized, and of all the keramic products of China the tea clubs took only cups of *Chien-yao* — *temmoku* (heaven's eye) they called it — not because they cared for the wonderful raven's wing glaze with its singular streaking of silver or dappling of russet which characterises this *Sung* ware, but because its heavy thick *pâte* and black colour had the merit of keeping the tea warm and of presenting a cool rim to the lips of the drinker. It must be admitted, however, that the *Cha-jin* was not altogether sincere when he aped this humility of selection. If he professed himself content with a homely object, he averted any suspicion of economical motives by lavishing money freely on its wrappers and receptacles; and if he dispensed with beauty he exacted prestige and "odile." Enormous value attached to objects that had been approved, above all used, by acknowledged masters of the cult. A certificate from Kobori Masakazu, Furuta Oribe, or Sen-no-Rikiu added many tens of gold pieces to the value of an object. Yoshimasa brought together in the Silver Pavilion a collection of utensils which were regarded as standards of the orthodox tea-equipage. Oda Nobunaga did the same in his castle of Azuchi, and Hideyoshi surpassed them both when he furnished the Palace of Pleasure. To have belonged to

any of these collections raised an object at once to a pinnacle of esteem. Kobori Masakazu compiled a catalogue, called the *Meihyō-ki* (celebrated utensils), in which he entered a detailed account of all the *Cha-no-Yu* apparatus regarded in his era as the acme of classical taste. For the originals of any of the objects thus catalogued a *Cha-jin* has always been willing to pay a fabulous price. An illustration was afforded at a public sale which took place in Tōkyō in April, 1899, when certain specimens which were identified as having been described in the *O-kura-chō* (honourable store-room register of Yoshimasa's collection) were thus disposed of: —

A cup of stone-ware covered with lustrous black glaze having ash-coloured spots. (A specimen of Chinese *Chien-yao* of the Sung dynasty, known in Japan as *Haikatsugi Temmoku* (ash-coloured *Temmoku*). The most ardent Occidental lover of "antiques" would probably think five sovereigns a very high price for such a cup). Sold for 3,000 yen.

A bamboo flower-vase (of the kind known as *Hitoye-giri*; without decoration of any kind). 507 yen.

A bronze vase; body undecorated; cloud-shaped handles; nine inches high. 1,680 yen.

An iron water-boiler (*kama*) of peculiar shape. 251 yen.

A charcoal-holder made of woven bamboo. 211 yen.

An incense-box (diam. two and a half inches; depth one inch) of black lacquer carved in layers; with a deal case marked by Kobori Yenshiu no Kami. 466 yen.

An incense-box (smaller than the last) of blue and white porcelain, the decoration a roughly painted water-ox. 158 yen.

An iron water-boiler (the style known as *arari gama*; i. e. the surface granulated in hail-stone diaper. 356 yen.

A similar boiler with handles. 250 yen.

A stand of black lacquer, for an alcove ornament (worth about fifty *sen* from an artistic point of view). 238 yen.

A scroll inscribed with the ideographs *hei shin* (*mens æqua*), from the pen of a litterateur of the *Tang* dynasty. 1,580 yen.

A scroll inscribed with ideographs from the pen of a *Sung* litterateur. 488 yen.

A bamboo tea-ladle (used by Sen-no-Rikiu). 518 yen.

A miniature screen, of the kind used for placing beside the furnace in the Tea Ceremony; painted by *Shokwado*. 258 yen.

Five small blue and white porcelain cups, from the kiln of Shonzui Gorodayu. 121 yen.

Five small cups of Ming porcelain (red glaze with traces of gold decoration). 110 yen.

The only plea that could ever have been set up on behalf of such objects, namely, their simplicity and costlessness, is at once destroyed when they are thus extravagantly valued for the sake of association.

Had the æsthetics of the *Cha-no-yu* been limited to this narrow sphere, the result must have been to create hopeless confusion between beauty and archaism, and to rob art of all incentive. But, as has been stated above, there was another side to the cult. If the ceremonial of the *Ko-cha*, or powdered tea, when conducted on perfectly orthodox lines, forbade any departure from the severest and rudest principles, the ceremony of the *Sen-cha*, or infused tea, permitted a wide range of ideals, and dispensed with many of the forms and conventions of the practice. In the *Sen-cha* rite technical excellence, gracefulness of shape, and rarity were valued at their full worth, though prime importance continued to be attached to the

sobriety prescribed by the classics of the cult. Hence from the catalogue of objects of virtu offered by China and Korea, her implicitly trusted preceptors in so many matters, Japan made a strikingly narrow choice. Instead of taking for porcelain utensils the liquid-dawn reds, the ripe-grape purples, the five-coloured egg-shells, or any of the glowing monochromes and half-toned enamels of the Chinese keramists, she confined herself to ivory whites, delicate *céladons*, comparatively inornate specimens of blue *sous couverte*, and full bodied, roughly applied, over-glaze enamels such as characterised the later eras of the *Ming* dynasty. It has astonished many students of Japanese manners and customs to find that objects which Europe and America search for to-day in the markets of China with eager appreciation, are scarcely represented at all in the collections that Japanese virtuosi made at an epoch when such masterpieces were abundantly produced within easy reach of their doors. The explanation is to be sought in the conservatism of the tea clubs. But the justice must be done of acknowledging that, to a certain extent, the Japanese adopted in this matter the standards set by the Chinese themselves. There exists in China an illustrated manuscript compiled by Hsiang, an art critic of the sixteenth century. Among some eighty specimens therein depicted as *chefs-d'œuvre* on which the Chinese virtuosi of the time had set their *cachet*, fifty are *céladons*. Hence, when

the *Taikō* decided to import, for presentation to certain great temples, the finest keramic products obtainable in China, he had no hesitation in selecting vases of *Lung-Chuang-yao*, then the best *céladon* of the Chin-te-ching kilns. It need scarcely be added that in her own arts also, both pictorial and applied, Japan was largely guided by the dicta of the tea clubs. For their use and in obedience to their taste, her potters toiled through centuries to produce cups, bowls, ewers, and tiny jars covered with glazes which, while they testify great technical skill and often show glows and gleams of most attractive colours, are nevertheless sober almost to severity. It was also for their use and in obedience to their taste that her artists carried the stenography of painting to its extreme limits, making half-a-dozen strokes convey a wide range of impression. And it was also for their use and in obedience to their taste that her lacquerers and other art-artisans lavished a wealth of decorative effort on the least visible parts of an object, and gave infinite care to technical minutiæ which almost equal care is needed to appreciate. In fact, throughout the whole range of Japan's ethics and æsthetics the influence of the tea cult may be clearly traced. To it she owes much of the delicate grace and extraordinary refinement of detail that distinguish her art products; to it she owes much of the repose of manner, elaborate courtesy, and studied imperturbability of demeanour, that characterise her

social intercourse; to it she owes a widely diffused exercise of the art-critical faculty; and to it she owes an impulse of generous patronage which contributed immensely to the progress of all her art industries. But to it also must be attributed a conservatism which cramped the genius of her artists; a false standard which confused beauty and archaism, and an influence which contributed largely to the formalism that constitutes a distinct blemish in her character.

Appendix

Appendix

NOTE 1. — These families are often spoken of as the *Hei-ke* and the *Gen-ji*, and the long struggle between them as the Gempei war.

NOTE 2. — Some of these animals are said to have weighed as much as an ox. Twelve great fights took place every month, and when the champion dog was led through the streets, people doffed their head-gear and even knelt down in reverence.

NOTE 3. — Yoritomo's eldest son, Yoriiye, was deposed from power and imprisoned for life by the Hōjō, who thus became supreme in Kamakura.

NOTE 4. — Thus, in his old age, riding alone by night among possible foes, he gave his sword to be carried by the companion who had most reason to desire his death.

NOTE 5. — In a moment of fury he ordered a man who had insulted him to be crucified, but before the sentence could be executed, he recognised that the offender's motive had been good, and not only pardoned but promoted him.

NOTE 6. — To equip himself for his first appearance as a soldier, he robbed his employer of a small sum, and reimbursed him, years afterwards, by a gift of a large fortune.

NOTE 7. — The title of *Taikō* (great house), by which Hideyoshi is generally known, was taken by him after he had surrendered that of regent to his heir apparent.

NOTE 8. — This matter of the evolution of the military class will be described more accurately in subsequent pages.

NOTE 9. — Another variety of alcove derived from the fashions of the Zen sect took the form of a protrusion instead of a recess. It was, in fact, a reading-nook so contrived that it projected into the veranda, and thus received light on three

sides. This kind of alcove is still seen in many Japanese houses. It has undergone no change for six centuries.

NOTE 10. — It should be explained, perhaps, that the description given in a previous chapter of the suites of rooms and their intercommunications in the mansion of a prince or high dignitary of State holds equally for this epoch. But the division of interior spaces is now planned on a much more elaborate scale, owing to the improved lighting facilities afforded by paper doors. The decorator soon appreciated and applied the principle of congruity in choosing his motives, and thus each room had its own distinguishing pictorial subjects, from which, also, it ultimately derived its name, being spoken of as the "wistaria chamber," the "chamber of the eight scenic gems," the "crane-and-tortoise chamber," and so on. In the houses of military men some of the rooms owed their appellations to the weapons placed in the immediate vicinity of their entrances, as the "bow room," or the "spear room." But such terms found no place in the nomenclature of the "illustrious mansions."

NOTE 11. — These precautions succeeded well, on the whole. After an area had been swept by a conflagration, the fire-proof storerooms usually remained standing intact among the ruins. But the cost of such edifices being large, many folks preferred an underground storeroom (*tsuchi-kura*), obviously a relic of the time when ordinary habitations were little better than caves. Pawnbrokers specially affected the latter kind of store, so that during the Military epoch the word "earthen edifice" (*dozō*) was usually interpreted in the sense of "pawnbroker."

NOTE 12. — In 1576 Oda Nobunaga built at Azuchi in Omi a castle with a donjon said to have been one hundred feet high. But as there are no remains of that stronghold to-day, and as history contains no exact details of its construction, Hideyoshi's castle at Osaka is taken as the first complete example of such structures in Japan.

NOTE 13. — The glyptic work on this gate has been persistently attributed to Hidari Jingoro, one of the greatest carvers of Japan. Jingoro was born in 1574, and the gate was erected in the Momoyama Palace in 1585. Obviously Jingoro had nothing to do with it.

NOTE 14. — Within the enclosure of the mausoleum of Iyeyasu at Nikkō there is an immense rectangular basin carved out of a block of granite. It is so perfectly adjusted on its base that it has stood for two hundred and fifty years with the water welling absolutely evenly over its four edges. This monolith, weighing many tons, was transported from Osaka to Nikkō.

NOTE 15. — The Japanese pagoda, according to Mr. Conder's researches, is generally a five-storeyed wooden tower, averaging one hundred and fifty feet in height. "The plan is about twenty-four feet square at the base, and each of the four upper storeys recedes somewhat from that below it. . . . The construction is of very heavy timbers, framed and braced upon the inside in such a complicated manner that there is barely room for the ladderlike staircases which lead from stage to stage. A central post, about three feet in diameter and diminishing towards the top, is framed into the apex of the structure, resting upon a central stone block at the bottom. This is intended to stiffen the tower against swaying in the wind, and the length is so calculated that, after the various stages of the tower have shrunk and settled, the central post shall just bear upon its stone base."

NOTE 16. — All the dates given here are according to the old Japanese calendar. Roughly speaking, they must be advanced about a month to obtain the corresponding Gregorian date. For example, the so-called "winter," from September 1st to March 31st, would be, according to the Occidental almanac, from about October 4th to May 4th.

NOTE 17. — It will be observed that the *chō* (thirty-six hundred *tsubo*) was a square having a side of sixty double paces (i. e. sixty *ken*, the double pace, or six feet, being called *ken*). The *chō* thus became a unit of lineal measurement, and, in accordance with a principle of uniformity which will be at once apparent, thirty-six *chō* were taken as a measure of distance and called one *ri*.

NOTE 18. — The loss of volume caused by hulling was counted as fifty per cent.

NOTE 19. — Mention may be made of another system of measurement found in the pages of early history. The unit

was the *shiro*, a word signifying "exchange," and owing its employment to the fact that rice was the basis of all barter. The *shiro* signified the area of land that produced a "sheaf," and fifty *shiro* consequently formed a *tan*. Grants of land made in old times by way of salary and allowances to officials were spoken of in terms of the *shiro*. Five hundred thousand *shiro* represented the area afterwards called "one thousand *chō*," and gave an income of twenty thousand *koku* (two hundred thousand sheaves) of unhulled rice.

NOTE 20. — Raw silk and raw cotton were also among the articles levied, but they seem to have been taken instead of silk or cotton fabrics.

NOTE 21. — The *ryō* was the principal monetary unit. It was divided into sixty parts, each called a *momme*.

NOTE 22. — The length of the bow and arrow were determined with reference to the capacity of the archer. In the case of the bow, the unit of measurement was the distance between the tips of the thumb and the little finger with the hand fully stretched. Fifteen of these units gave the dimensions of the bow. Hence, with a six-inch stretch, the bow would be seven feet six inches long. The unit for the arrow was a hand's breadth, and from twelve to fifteen units gave the length, — i. e. from three feet to three feet nine inches.

NOTE 23. — Seventeen masters are universally recognised as the greatest that ever forged a blade. They are Amakuni of Yamato province, and his pupil Amaga; Shinsoku, priest of the Shrine of Usa in Buzen; Yasatsune and Sanemori, also of Buzen; Munechika of Kyōtō, commonly called *Sanjo no Kokaji* (the little smith of Sanjo); Miike Denta Mitsuyo of Chikugo; Maikusa Yukishige of Oshiu; Genshōbō Jōshin, a Buddhist prelate of Hiko-san in Bungo; Ki-no-Shindayu Yukihira of the same province; Gyobu-no-Jo Norimune of Bizen; Kunitomo, Hisakuni, Kunitsuna and Yoshimune of Kyōtō; Yoshihiro of Yetchiu and Goro Nyudo Masamune of Soshiu. The last of these ranks highest.

NOTE 24. — The method by which this result was obtained is explained in the chapter on Applied Art.

NOTE 25. — The clay was first plastered over the whole blade, and then removed along the edge by means of a bamboo

stick. Thus the upper margin of the tempered section showed a more or less irregular line, which, like the marks of the forger's hammer, furnished a means of identification. The presence of this line of demarkation has betrayed many persons into the erroneous supposition that the edge of a Japanese sword is welded to the body of the blade.

NOTE 26. — For fuller information on all these points see an admirable essay by Mr. Ed. Gilbertson, in the fourth volume of the Japan Society's Transactions, and another by Professor Hütterott in the Proceedings of the German Asiatic Society for 1885.

NOTE 27. — First among the swords of Japan ranked the sacred blade which formed one of the Imperial Regalia. Then came the *Hirugoza* (daily companion), the *Hateki* (foe-smiter), and the *Shugo* (guardian) of the Emperor; followed by the "Beard-cutter" (hige-kiri) and the "Knee-severer" (hiza-kiri) of the Minamoto, so called because, after cutting off a head, one divided the beard also, the other gashed the knees, of the decapitated man; then the "Little Crow" (*ko-garasu*) and the "Out flasher" (*nuki-maru*) of the Taira, and then innumerable other celebrated blades preserved in the families of feudal nobles.

NOTE 28. — Religious influence often showed itself in the legends on flags. A common inscription was *Namu Amida Butsu* (hear! Oh, Amida Buddha) or *Hachiman Daibosatsu*, a compound of *Shintô* with Buddhist tenets; or *Namu Horengekyo*, the formula of the Nichiren sect. The celebrated soldier Katō Kiyomasa always used this last legend for his pennon.

NOTE 29. — A tent was simply a space enclosed with strips of cloth or silk, on which was blazoned the crest of the commander. It had no covering.

NOTE 30. — These two last principles are based on the idea of not driving the foe to desperation. There is reason to think that when the Japanese invested the Chinese forces in Ping-yang, in 1894, they acted upon the advice of the third-century strategists, for they deliberately left a road of escape for the enemy, who took it.

NOTE 31. — The Japanese military man is called indiscriminately *samurai* or *bushi*. *Samurai* originally signifies "guard,"

and *shi* is the Sinico-Japanese pronunciation of the same ideograph, which, with the prefix *bu* (military), makes the compound *bushi*, or military guard. The terms *samurai* and *bushi* are used in these pages without distinction.

NOTE 32. The term *hyaku-sho*, here translated "workingman," means literally "one engaged in any of the various callings" apart from military service. In a later age a further distinction was established between the agriculturist, the artisan, and the trader, and the word *hyaku-sho* then came to carry the signification of "husbandman" only, a sense which it possesses at the present time.

NOTE 33. — It sometimes happened that the *samurai* made a habit of attending performances given by *shira-byoshi* (the *geisha* of that era), and deadly brawls often resulted.

NOTE 34. — The act of cutting open the stomach was called *harakiri* or *seppuku*, different pronunciations of ideographs having the same meaning.

NOTE 35. — *Yamato* is the old name for Japan.

NOTE 36. — Little credence can be attached to a statement often advanced by Japanese historiographers that the crime of high treason has never been known in Japan. There are several instances. The elder brother of the Empress plotted against the life of the Emperor Suinin (29 B. C.–71 A. D.). Soga no Umako caused the Emperor Susun to be assassinated (591 A. D.), in order to place a princess on the throne. The Emperor Kōbun was attacked by his uncle and driven into the mountains, where he committed suicide (478 A. D.). The Empress Dowager and her favourite, a Buddhist priest (Dokyo), drove the Emperor Junnin into exile (764 A. D.), banishing with him many princes of the blood and killing others. Mototsune, a representative of the Fujiwara family, seized the Emperor, Yozei (885 A. D.), and placed him in confinement. In 939 A. D. the Taira chief, Masakado, raised the standard of revolt and endeavoured to win the Throne for himself. The Hōjō chief, Takatoki, sent an army to attack the Palace of the Emperor Godaigo, took him prisoner, dethroned him, and sent him into exile (1331 A. D.). Ashikaga Takauji, in 1335 A. D., reduced the sovereign's stronghold and placed him in confinement. Such a record cannot be

reconciled with any theory of invariably reverential loyalty to the person of the Emperor.

NOTE 37. — The names of such great captains as Oda Nobunaga, Hideyoshi (the *Taikō*), Uyesugi Kenshin, Takeda Shingen, etc., are connected with liaisons of this description.

NOTE 38. — The *Taikō* resembled Napoleon I. in his determined manner of overriding obstacles and his ruthless indifference to the feelings of others. Writing to his wife from Odawara, where he was besieging the Hōjō stronghold, he said: "Send Yodo to me here. I like her. You shall have me at your side when I return."

NOTE 39. — It is curious to observe the difficulty that attended the abolition of the custom of *junshi*. When Tadayoshi, the fourth son of Tokugawa Iyeyasu, died in 1601, not only did three of his most trusted vassals commit suicide, but a fourth, who had been banished to Oshiu in consequence of some offence, hastened to Yedo and killed himself within the precincts of the Temple Zōjō-ji. In the same year Hideyasu, second son of Iyeyasu, died. Two of his attendants immediately committed suicide, and his chief factor was about to follow their example when peremptory vetoes arrived from Hidetada, the reigning Viceregent, and from Iyeyasu himself. In his letter forbidding the act, Iyeyasu declared that should the practice be resorted to by any feudatory's vassals thereafter, the fief would be confiscated, his view being that true loyalty required, not sacrifice of life, but transfer of services to the deceased lord's successor. Nevertheless, when Kunimatsu, the eight-year-old son of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, was put to death in 1615, his tutor, Tanaka Rokuyemon, committed suicide; and when the second Tokugawa *Shōgun*, Hidetada, died in 1632, although, as has been said, he had himself interdicted the *junshi*, his squire, Morikawa Shigetoshi, followed him to the other world. So, on the demise of Date Masamune in 1636, several of his vassals committed suicide; and on the death of the third Tokugawa *Shōgun*, Iyemitsu, in 1651, five men and one woman killed themselves, and four other men, attendants of the suicides, took the same step. At length, in 1663, the fourth *Shōgun*, Iyetsuna, decreed that if the *junshi* were practised in any fief, the latter's revenues should be confiscated;

and six years later, when, on the death of Matsudaira Tadamasa of Utsunomiya, one of his vassals adhered to the old custom, the Yedo administration reduced the estates of the fief by twenty thousand *koku*, executed the two sons of Sugiura Matsubei, who had committed suicide, and banished his grandson. Not until the exaction of these terrible penalties did the custom receive its death-blow.

NOTE 40. — Mr. J. Conder in his admirable work, "Landscape Gardening in Japan."

NOTE 41. — Conder's "Landscape Gardening in Japan."

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